TEMPORARY WORKERS: THEIR PERCEIVED INTERACTIONAL JUSTICE, STIGMATIZATION, IDENTIFICATION AND BEHAVIORS AT WORK

by

Fumiko Ie

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Communication

The University of Utah

May 2015

The University of Utah Graduate School

STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

The dissertation of **Fumiko Ie**

has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

Connie Bullis	, Chair	**9/15/2014** Date Approved
Mark J. Bergstrom	, Member	**4/23/2014** Date Approved
Heather E. Canary	, Member	**4/23/2014** Date Approved
Ann L. Darling	, Member	**4/23/2014** Date Approved
Ted Packard	, Member	**4/23/2014** Date Approved

and by **Kent A. Ono**, Chair/Dean of

the Department/College/School of **Communication**

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

Despite the widespread use of temporary workers in all types of organizations, their work experiences and behaviors have not been comprehensively studied. This study investigated temporary workers' perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by workplace permanent employees. It further explored their identification with important organizational targets including their temporary help service agencies, immediate work groups, jobs, and workplace organizations. Moreover, the study examined whether these concepts related to their engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors in the workplace.

The results show that the majority of the temporary workers perceived positive interactional justice, and the majority did not perceive being stigmatized by regular employees. The temporary workers identified more with their immediate work groups, jobs and workplace organizations than with their temporary help service agencies. Moreover, those temporary workers who identified with their immediate work groups tended to engage in beneficial behaviors beyond their duty, while they tended not to engage in harmful behaviors.

In addition, the research revealed that many of the temporary workers reported task-related experiences as their positive experiences, while the majority of their negative experiences involved social and communicative aspects.

To my mother and father, Masako and Tsunenari Ie

To my aunt, Hisako Hagiwara

To my brother and sister-in law, Ryuichi and Ikumi Ie

To my nephew, Mitsunari Ie

I love you all so much.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

LIST OF TABLES ix

LIST OF FIGURES x

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi

CHAPTERS

I INTRODUCTION 1

Need for Flexibility in Highly Capitalized Business Society 3
History of the THS Industry 5
Social Identity Concerns of Temporary Workers 8
Impact of Temporary Workers' Well-Being on Their Performance in the Workplace 10

II LITERATURE REVIEW 12

Theoretical Background 12
Difference between Employment through THS Agencies and Other Types of Employment 13
Lines of Research in Multiple Disciplines 15
Legal and Economic Research 15
Management Research 17
Organizational Communication and Organizational Behavioral Research 20
Organizational Commitment 21
Organizational Justice 22
Communication Research 22
Application of the Variables Previously Studied 25
Organizational Justice 25
Distributive Justice 26
Procedural Justice 27
Interactional Justice 28
Temporary Workers as Stigmatized People 29
Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Societal Level 31
Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Organizational Level 37
Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Individual Level 40

Organizational Identification 43
Temporary Workers' Workplace Experiences 47
Beneficial Behaviors and Harmful Behaviors 48
Why Do Employees Engage in Beneficial Behaviors that Are Not Specified in Their Labor Contracts? 48
Why Do Employees Engage in Harmful Behaviors in the Workplace? 50

III METHODS 55

Participants 55
Sampling 56
Sampling Techniques 56
Sampling Procedures 57
Asking THS Agencies to Participate in the Study 58
Asking Hospitals for Permission to Invite Temporary Nurses to the Study 60
Inviting Graduate Students of the University of Utah 60
Inviting Other Universities' and Colleges' Temporary Help Service 61
Exploring SurveyMonkey's "Buy Survey Program" 61
Contacting Personal Friends and Acquaintances 61
Posting Recruitment Ads in Internet Forums 61
Ethical Issues and Confidentiality 62
Procedures 63
Invitation 63
Job Description and Tenure 64
Measures 64
Identification 64
Perceived Interactional Justice 65
Perceived Stigmatization by Permanent Employees 67
Positive and Negative Experiences 68
Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 68
Demographics 68
Analyses 69
Post Hoc Analyses 73

IV RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION 74

Research Question 1 74
Research Question 2 75
Hypothesis 1 77
Research Question 3 79
Hypothesis 2 80
Research Questions 4a and 4b 84
Positive Experiences 84
Positive Points Regarding the Job and Its Practice 85
Receiving Recognition/Positive Feedback 85

Positive Socialization 87
Good Administrative Practices 88
Employment After Original Term 89
Negative Experiences 90
Stigmatization 91
Inadequate Information 96
Disrespect for Contract/Legal Issues 99
Reprimands/Accusations/Verbal Abuse/Name Calling 101
Relational Issues with Individuals Other Than Workplace 103
Relational Issues with Permanent Employees 107
Workplace System and Nature of the Job 111
Research Question 5 114
Active Responses 114
Passive Responses 115
No Response 116
Research Question 6 116
Research Question 7 118
Beneficial Behaviors 118
Voluntarily Performing Jobs Beyond Duty or Exceeding Expected Performance Level 119
Working Extended Time/Shift 121
Helping Social Aspects of the Workplace 122
Harmful Behaviors 122
Research Question 8 126
Post Hoc Analyses 130

V DISCUSSION 132

Summary of the Findings 132
Discussion of the Findings 137
Interactional Justice 138
Stigmatization 138
Identification 141
Relationship between Temporary Workers' Perceived Interactional Justice, Stigmatization, and Identification 144
Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 146
The Model of Temporary Workers' Perceived Interactional Justice, Stigmatization, Identification, and Workplace Behaviors 147
Positive and Negative Experiences and Responses 151
Positive Experiences 151
Negative Experiences 152
Limitations 154
Future Research 155
Conclusion 158

APPENDICES

A: QUESTIONNAIRE 160

B: LETTER TO TEMPORARY HELP AGENCIES 169

C: ELECTRONIC LETTER TO RESPONDENTS 171

D: MAPPING OF THEMES: POSITIVE EXPERIENCES 172

E: MAPPING OF THEMES: NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES 173

REFERENCES 174

LIST OF TABLES

Tables

1 Perceived Interactional Justice by Supervisor and Coworkers 74

2 Paired-Samples t-Test: Interactional Justice by Supervisor and Coworkers 75

3 Perceived Stigmatization by Supervisor and Coworkers 76

4 One-tailed Pearson Correlations Among Major Variables 78

5 Identification 79

6 Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors in the Workplace beyond Contract 117

7 Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification 127

8 Stepwise Discriminant Analyses for Predicting Engagement in Beneficial Behaviors 128

9 Stepwise Regression Analyses for Predicting Extents of Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 130

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures

1 The Diagram of a THS Work Contract 16

2 Predictions of Identification by Perceived Interactional Justice and Stigmatization 127

3 Predictions of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 129

4 Predictions of Extents of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 130

5 Correlations between the Major Variables 133

6 Predictions of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors 134

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people who supported me throughout my program for a Ph.D degree.

First and foremost, I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my committee chair, Professor Connie Bullis. She instructed me with her fabulous knowledge and teaching skills and tremendous patience throughout my coursework, qualification exams and the dissertation research. My dissertation and Ph.D program would not have been completed without her support. I would also like to express gratitude to my committee members, Professors Mark Bergstrom, Heather Canary, Ann Darling and Ted Packard. They provided me with precious instructions to improve my dissertation. It was always reassuring for me to have such a great and supportive committee chair and members.

I owe many thanks to my family for giving me a chance and the means to pursue my academic endeavor. They were always in my mind although they we were physically far apart, me in the U.S. and they in Japan.

Lastly, I would like to thank to my friends all over the world who supported me emotionally and practically. Your encouragement was a huge push for me, especially when I was having a hard time in my academic and personal life.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

People spend a significant amount of their lives working to earn money, and earning money for a living involves a variety of issues related to individuals' well-being. In modern society, working usually involves interactions with other individuals, and individuals create meaning for their social existence through such social interactions. In other words, they create, maintain, and negotiate social identity through their everyday communicative activities in their social environments. Based on their understanding of themselves through such interactions, they choose behaviors which influence subsequent understanding of their situations and of themselves. This understanding, in turn, influences their behaviors in a self-influencing loop. Therefore, the concept of identity, or the understanding of social "self," and social "place" significantly influences an individual's psychological well-being.

As individuals engage in such social interactional loops, the concept of justice becomes important to understanding their social situations. In particular, interactional justice, or the extent to which individuals perceive that they are treated fairly, has been regarded as a significant theme and has been studied by many scholars. Learning how workers perceive interactional justice in the workplace is important to understanding workplace social situations and how these social situations impact or influence workers'

lives in the workplace.

What kind of justice do organizations care about? Do organizations enact policies to protect the primary workforce only? Many organizations may not consider other types of employees in their policies, since most organizations have little knowledge about how other types of work arrangements will influence their organizational goals. Organizational justice research has been very limited in answering this question. One assumption might be that the best-cared-for group would probably be the primary production workforce because of the view that their performance influences the profits of the organization more than other groups of workers in the organization. Next to the workers on the front line may be the high-seniority workers who have a well established, supportive network within the organization because of employment tenure. Peripheral workers, such as clerks and common support laborers, may be the least-cared-for group because their skills are not typically unique to the organization and they are viewed as being easily replaced. Although there may be a hierarchy that dictates who receives more attention within the organization itself, regular employees have also been more focused upon in a variety of organizational and management studies. Contingent, or temporary, workers have tended to be overlooked, both within the organizations and by the studies.

However, recent economic pressures and resultant human resource strategies have expanded the typical management relationship from a focus on simple, regular employment to more specialized employment types, including outsourcing the workforce through temporary help service agencies (THS). Unfortunately, temporary workers have, until recently, been excluded from studies of various organizational concepts crucial to workers' well-being.

In the 1990s some researchers started to mention the scarcity of studies on temporary workers and began to explore the realities and experiences of temporary workers (e.g., Feldman, Doerpinghaus, & Turnley, 1994; Galup, Saunders, Nelson, & Cerveny, 1997; Gottfried, 1991). However, it is only since the new millennium that empirical studies about temporary workers' workplace experiences have been specifically targeted by social researchers (e.g., Gossett, 2001; Gottfried, 2003).

This study extends past research by examining relationships between interactional justice, stigmatization, and identification. In addition, a goal of this study is to provide insight into how temporary workers shape their social behaviors in response to their workplace experiences. I hope that my study contributes to better workplace experiences for employees in nontraditional work arrangements and that this contribution might result in workers' increased well-being in the workplace. In addition, I hope this study will result in better operations in the organizations that employ temporary workers and more effective attainment of these organizations' goals.

Need for Flexibility in Highly Capitalized Business Society

Rapidly changing economic conditions in capitalist countries have always required responsive management strategies for organizations to survive and to thrive economically. In capitalist countries competition focuses on maximizing profits. While maximizing profits often requires competitive management of cutting edge technologies, it also seeks competitive advantage in its social systems, such as legal regulations, demographic and cultural diversity, and labor management. Modern economic forces have naturally required organizations to adjust in all areas to ever-changing economic situations, and human resourcing has not been an exception. Organizations attempt to

maximize profits and minimize costs, and one place that they can minimize costs is in the labor force. Still, they must balance lower costs in the labor force against the needs of employees in the labor force. One of the ways to maximize profit is to utilize a labor force that is elastic in response to production needs. In this "flexible" labor force, workers are acquired as needed in response to increases in product demand, or released as desired in response to decrease in product demand. The idea is that the organization never pays for an employee for whom no work exists.

In the business world, the needs for such adjustable human resource strategies became more significant after WWII, reflecting the rapid growth of competing world economies. Employers introduced a flexible human resourcing model that was characterized by short-term contracts or on-demand contingent employment (Miura, 2005). In modern competitive economies that require cutting costs related to labor resources, employers have found that they can reduce costs better by using a contingent workforce that is needed for only short periods of time than by retaining a permanent labor force that often results in excess cost during times of decreased demand. That is, employer-employee relationships are often no longer characterized by the traditional long-term and stable commitment to each other. The employer-employee relationship often exhibits elasticity in response to market conditions that impact profitability.

Perhaps the most extreme example of flexible employment in response to market forces is the use of temporary workers through THS agencies. Since temporary workers typically do not "belong" to the workplace organization in which they work, but are hired by the THS agencies, employers do not have the same obligations that occur when they hire a regular, or permanent, employee. Specifically, health insurance, social security

and stock options are some examples of such obligations. Training newly-hired workers is another example of a workplace organization's historic responsibility. In many cases, employer organizations have to spend money to help a new hire acquire the skills that are necessary for their work. However, temporary workers are often expected to have already acquired the skills necessary for a specific job. Eliminating the need to train new employees is another way to reduce costs associated with the labor force. In such ways, the THS industry has successfully caught the attention of employers and has made inroads into large business.

History of the THS Industry

In the United States, the first THS organization was established in 1946 by William Russell Kelly. Kelly developed the idea of a temporary staffing business from his need for a temporary clerical workforce for his own company. He established Russsell Kelly Office Services (now, Kelly Services) in Detroit (Adler, 1999). Two years after Russell Kelly Office Services was established, another large temporary help agency, Manpower Inc., started its staffing business. The THS industry grew steadily, and the THS industry in the United States reached 73.5 billion dollars in revenue by 2007 (ASA online, 2008). The current number of THS agency offices throughout the U.S. is approximately 17,600 (ASA online, 2008).

Initially, the Russell Kelly Office Services' business was to dispatch clerical workers for business organizations, whereas Manpower provided workers for industrial companies. The services provided by the two companies were typically used to fill in for regular workers who took vacation or sick leave (Adler, 1999). The THS industry soon began supplying blue-collar labor, as well, and it started growing rapidly, helped by the

labor shortage after WWII (Ie, 2004).

According to the American Staffing Association, as of 2013, industrial (blue-collar) workers occupied 35.1% of temporary work positions, followed by professional-managerial at 21.0%, office-clerical positions at 20.4 %, technical/IT at 15.7% and health care at 7.8% (ASA online, 2014). Thus, temporary workers are employed in a variety of positions.

The growth of the THS industry has been closely tied to the American economy and, with the exception of recessions in the early 1980s, 1991, and 2001 and 2002, employment through THS agencies has grown steadily. The 2007 revenue number represents an increase of 332 % over THS revenues in 1990 of $17.0 billion. Clearly, such an increase reflects the demand for this labor. In 2012, average daily temporary employment was 2.91 million workers, which tripled the number in 1990 (ASA Online, 2014).

Client organizations have come to use temporary workers more as a permanent workforce than as a way to fill in for absent permanent employees. In fact, many organizations create jobs specifically for temporary workers (Gossett, 2001) as a way to control labor costs and this has become a norm in profit and nonprofit organizations. The average tenure of temporary workers is 13 weeks, and their average hourly payment is approximately $12. Currently, 79% of temporary workers work full time (ASA online, 2014).

The trend toward increased use of temporary labor in this relatively new type of work arrangement creates a worker referred to as a “perma-temp.” Perma-temps typically work more than 6 months (and in some cases for years) as full-time workers in

the same workplace, and yet their arrangement is still as dispatched workers through THS agencies. This "perma-temp" arrangement creates a variety of issues and implications for workplace realities. For example, former perma-temps of Microsoft Corp. filed a lawsuit against the giant software company asserting their right to receive social benefits similar to those of permanent employees of the organization. These benefits included health insurance and social security as well as other benefits provided to the permanent employees. The case was settled by the U.S. Supreme Court in favor of the temporary workers. It awarded the former temporary workers a cash settlement and also ruled that they were entitled to receive further benefits as well, such as stock options (Goldstein, 2004).

Many similar law suits were filed following the case against Microsoft (Goldstein, 2004). In addition, the protection of temporary workers is now becoming a global issue: as such employment arrangements have been exported from the U.S. to other industrialized capitalistic countries and adapted to their specific labor laws. For example, legal regulation of the temporary staffing business has reduced the abuse of temporary workers in European Union countries (Keenan, 2004), and in Japan, paid vacations and health insurance for temporary workers have become mandatory for temporary workers who have served for a certain period of time (Weathers, 2004). Such changes demonstrate not only concern for the welfare of these relatively low-wage workers, but also show that authorities are trying to help such workers emerge from the obviously poor work conditions that existed prior to regulation.

Social Identity Concerns of Temporary Workers

As previously noted, the view of temporary workers has been changing from temporary workers being a substitute workforce to their being accepted as a necessary workforce. However, we still hear about their plights, such as the fact that their agencies take a significant amount of fees from the pay of temporary workers and that temporary workers are implicitly or explicitly treated as being a "peripheral" and "disposable" workforce, or as "commodities," more so than permanent employees. Such treatment often confuses how temporary workers view themselves in the workplace. While they are not "true" members of their workplace, they must still work to ensure profitability for the workplace organization as a part of the organization's workforce.

In the past, several qualitative studies about identity issues that temporary workers experience at work have been conducted (e.g., Boyce, Ryan, Imus, & Morgan, 2007; Gallagher & Sverke, 2005; Gossett, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007; Gottfried, 1991, 2003; Ie, 2005, 2007, 2008; Rogers, 1995;). These works in this area of study have revealed that temporary workers have unique experiences in regards to their social identities. These unique experiences are the basis of this research, and details from the studies will be given in the literature review section.

Studies focusing on identity issues in temporary workers have included variables such as organizational commitment (e.g., Biggs & Swailes, 2006; Gallagher & Sverke, 2005; McDonal and Makin, 2000) and the psychological contract (e.g., Druker & Stanworth, 2004; Kraimer, Wayne, Liden, & Sparrowe, 2005; McLean Parks, Kidder, & Gallagher, 1998). However, these studies are from a psychological perspective, and they focus only on perceptions of temporary workers and not on their communication

behaviors. In order to provide a more holistic view of temporary workers' social experiences in the workplace, it is necessary to capture a wider range of variables that make up the cyclical processes that shape their social realities. More specifically, the research attempts to identify the experiences affecting temporary workers' workplace activities. These experiences may be related to how they identify with their workplace and how they react to their social experiences in the workplace in response to workplace pressure, so understanding these experiences is important for understanding workers' identity issues.

There are two significant reasons why I believe that temporary workers' identity concerns have not gathered enough attention. First, managerial disciplines overemphasize the assumed financial effects of hiring temporary workers on workplace organizations. As a result of, and being helped by, the low-wage and temporal, or "disposable," nature of their work contract, temporary workers have been "invisible" or "secondary" citizens in the workplace. As such, the accepted opinion, stated or not, is that they do not deserve to be cared about, or to have their well-being be a consideration in the workplace environment. Second, although the THS industry is thriving, the population of temporary workers represents only 2% of the entire work population in the United States (ASA Online, 2014). This relatively low population demonstrates that the temporary workers are still a tiny minority group, and are easily overlooked or ignored. It is important to study minorities because they function to sustain systems that privilege the majority.

Impact of Temporary Workers' Well-Being on Their Performance in the Workplace

Another important set of topics related to workplace issues deals with employees' behaviors that affect other employees and the workplaces. Organizational commitment and organizational citizenship behaviors have been two major themes of organizational studies, which typically target the positive aspects of employees' organizational behaviors (e.g., Biggs & Swailes, 2006; Boyce et al., 2007; Gallagher & Sverke, 2005) and ignore the negative aspects of employees' organizational behaviors. In addition to positive aspects of employees' organizational behaviors, I propose that the negative aspects are worthy of attention, as well. Human beings are susceptible to environmental pressures when they choose their actions and responses in the course of workplace interactions. Such actions and responses in the workplace may include both socially positive and socially negative activities. When improvement in both individuals' well-being and performance in the workplace is considered, there are advantages to the workplace organization. Also, it is important to investigate the darker side of human interactions, as well as the impact that ignoring, or minimizing, workplace well-being and performance can have on the organization.

The primary goal of this dissertation is to contribute to and enhance understanding of healthy workplace environments. In this project, I investigated relationships between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice, stigmatization, and identification and how they influence behaviors at the workplace. Knowing how temporary workers react to their treatment at the workplace assists in understanding temporary workers' realities in the workplace and allows them to be managed more effectively. The end result of this is

that all parties in the employer, employee and management triad should be better served. Better relations between temporary workers and their workplace supervisor and coworkers could make all employees feel more included, and this could create more effective, caring employees. More effective employees would, presumably, be better producers and the increased production would positively impact the organization's profitability. Thus, all could potentially benefit.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Background

This study has its foundation in multiple perspectives and this study is motivated by the results of previous studies that used critical perspectives which revealed temporary workers' plights at the workplace. The core perspective I used for this study is that of functionalism, or, more specifically, post-positivism. Miller (2000) states that, from the post-positivist perspective, the "process" through which individuals socially construct their realities is often "patterned and predictable" (p. 59). In this study, I attempted to find correlations between variables identified in previous studies by statistically analyzing them. I believe that the functionalist approach to organizational communication, along with developing a systematic view of workplace experiences and behaviors based on the findings, has much to contribute to both the academic and business worlds. However, I did not limit this study by only employing a functionalist paradigm. Miller (2000) recalls that her colleague, Charley Conrad, stated that labeling studies with paradigms could "constrain researchers' vision," and he asserts in the same article that the boundaries of the paradigms found in the studies are blurry (p. 47). Consistent with this assertion, I incorporated the interpretive approach into my functionalist inquiry into temporary workers' workplace experiences.

The functionalist perspective on temporary workers' experiences discloses the

dynamic patterns they follow as they construct their realities. However, the system through which humans construct their realities is always exposed to inputs from outside. The inputs can be infinite in variety and number, and they reflect endless processes of social change. For temporary workers, such inputs often come from the dynamics of the larger system, such as the changing demands for temporary workers' contributions and the rapidly altering economic and social political systems. These inputs impact temporary workers' experiences. It is important to understand these experiences by qualitatively investigating them. Listening to the voices of temporary workers allows this research to be richer than it would be were I to just find patterns among the variables previously presented. Therefore, this research listens to temporary workers' experiences. This qualitative inquiry is based on the assumptions that human beings are capable of self-knowledge and of reporting their realities based on that knowledge (Harré & Secord, 1972). Listening to their stories and interpreting those reveals what influences temporary workers' construction of reality and how such influences occur. Interpretation is essential since it connects the stories told to the existing system of temporary workers' realities.

Difference between Employment through THS Agencies and Other Types of Employment

Gallagher and Sverke (2005) have examined organizational behavioral themes regarding contingent work and defined "traditional" and "nontraditional" work arrangements. Gallagher and Sverke (2005) define "traditional" employment as "permanent full-time and part-time workers with either an explicit or implicit understanding that employment will be continuing or ongoing" (p. 186). Nontraditional

types of work, on the other hand, include "contingent" and "alternative" arrangements.

Gallagher and Sverke (2005) borrow Polivka and Nardone's (1989) definition of "contingent work" and describe it as those employment arrangements that do not involve explicit or implicit contracts for long-term employment (p. 187). According to Gallagher and Sverke, there are three types of contingent work arrangements: THS firm workers, who are the theme of this study; in-house temporaries; and independent contractors. Whereas temporary help service firm workers (referred to as temporary workers in this study) are those who are dispatched through temporary help service agencies, in-house temporaries are those who are directly hired by the workplace organization for short-term needs. Independent contractors are self-employed individuals who provide particular skills to organizations (p. 187).

Alternative arrangements include outsourced work, subcontracted work and work performed by consultant firms. Outsourcing is defined as "contracting with a vendor to perform an activity previously performed by the company" (Greer et al., 1999, as cited in Gallaghar & Sverke, 2005, p. 187). Subcontracted work is essentially employees of another company performing work for the client company. A consulting firm provides specific knowledge and ideas for the completion of a particular project (Gallagher & Sverke, 2005, p. 187).

The most unique aspect of temporary workers dispatched through THS agencies is that they are under dual management – by the THS agency and by their workplace organization. In this form of management, the tasks in which they are engaged are assigned and directed by the managers – or supervisors – of the organization. The organization is a client of the THS agency and the client organization contracts with the

THS agency to dispatch a worker for a specific term. The THS agency contracts to have a worker perform tasks at the client organization. Thus, client organizations can obtain labor without the burden of recruiting and temporary workers can find work without expending a lot of effort.

The diagram in Figure 1 shows the complicated arrangements of employment for temporary workers. It illustrates, that in contract work the temporary workers' performance earns money not only for themselves but also for the THS agency. In a traditional employment arrangement, the organization that profits from the labor of a worker is the employer. However, in the case of THS practices, the third party, the THS agency, also makes a profit from the worker's performance.

From the workplace organization's perspective, they do not want to pay more than they would pay if they were to hire the worker directly for the job. This means that temporary workers have to endure the stresses that result from this double-level profit system. For example, they may be paid less than permanent employees who have similar skills and engage in similar jobs. Or, they do not receive benefits that permanent employees receive.

Lines of Research in Multiple Disciplines

In this section, I introduce the themes concerning temporary workers that several major disciplines address.

Legal and Economic Research

Defining who is their true employer is an issue that may influence temporary workers' understandings about who they are. As mentioned in the previous section, temporary workers' contracts involve three entities: the THS agency and the worker.

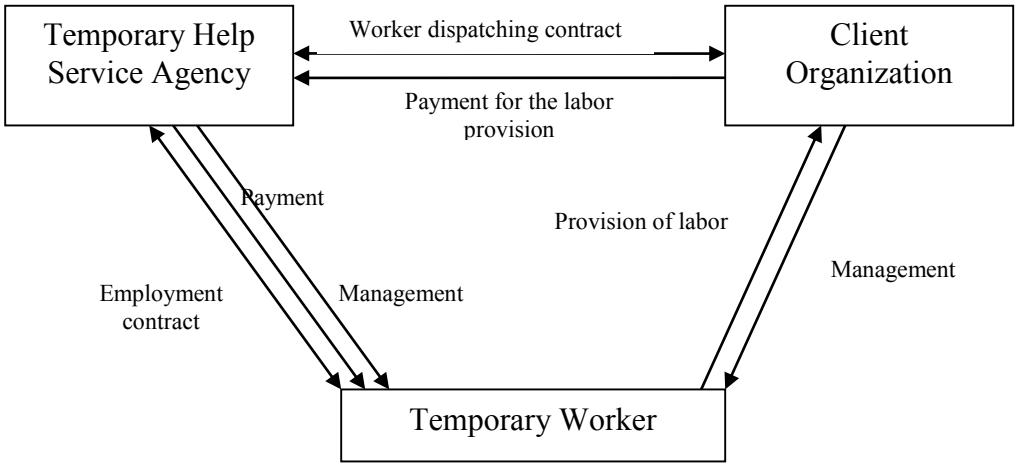


Figure 1. The diagram of a THS work contract

Therefore, who is the real "employer" of the temporary worker? In the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Department of Labor states that both an agency and its client workplace organization are considered joint employers. However, payments to the employee as compensation for working at the client workplace and "the keeping of the records required by Regulations, Part 516" are primarily the temporary help service agency's responsibility (Moberly, 1987, p. 695).

There is the question, however, if THS agencies can formally claim to be the employer of a temporary worker. Gonos (1997) presents four points that argue against the THS agency being considered the employer. First, actual control over the work and supervision are carried out at the client's site by the client's employees. Second, the "worker is not technically 'employed' until she begins work on the premises of the THF's [Temporary Help Firms] client and is only paid so long as she is on assignment with this outside party" (p. 88). Third, the THS agency generally does not supply its own materials or tools for the workers to perform their services at the client workplace. Furthermore, the THS agency is generally not responsible for "a final product or service"

performed by the temporary workers (p. 88). Fourth, the final product or service is an "integral part of the business of, and therefore directly benefits, the customer or client firm, not the THF" (p. 88). Thus, temporary workers' status is uncertain according to Gonos' (1997) view.

Does this uncertainty regarding who temporary workers' "true" employers are positively or negatively influence the temporary workers' understandings of who they are? More specifically, there would be a variety of consequences from this uncertainty in employment statuses. For example, because their legal status as an employee is uncertain, they may not have a stable sense of belonging to their working societies. This unstable sense of belonging will be better understood by investigating their identification with THS agency, work group and workplace organization. Another example, in contrast to the previous one, the fact that they do not have a definite employer may make them perceive that they are independent and in control of their lives. This may be related to their behaviors in the workplace.

Management Research

Management literature primarily focuses on the trends of the THS industry, the pros and cons of hiring temporary workers, and how to best manage them.

Forde (2008) suggests that THS agencies are beginning to offer increasingly "individualized" services that meet clients' needs precisely by providing "repeat" or experienced workers. In addition, clients are beginning to view temporary workers more as candidates for permanent positions, rather than as just "fill-in" workers. However, this does not mean that individuals typically choose to be temporary workers. Feldman, Doerpinghaus, and Turnley (1994) claim that the majority of temporary workers would

rather not work forever on temporary assignments (p. 50). According to Feldman et al., individuals such as mothers (both those who want part-time work and those who are re-entering the job market after an extended period away for raising a family), college students, people who do not want to commit to full-time jobs, and the short-term unemployed can benefit from working as temporary workers (pp. 51-53). Feldman et al. view the management issues related to temporary workers from the temporary workers' perspective. Therefore, they focus on public concern issues such as the marginalization of temporary workers and temporary workers' anxiety about job security. Based on the plights that temporary workers may experience, Feldman et al. suggest some key practices to help. For example, they suggest that the workplace organizations should provide honest information about "the length of the job assignment," enact policies that "ensure fair and respectful treatment," conduct training for temporary workers, and consider the "potential impact on regular employees." In addition, they should exercise careful selection of THS agencies (pp. 58-61). Their suggestions are also fundamental to my focus on interactional justice.

In contrast to the Feldman, et al. (1994) study's effort to suggest management practices that are more constructive and productive in the management of temporary workers, other scholars focus on concerns that workplace organizations might have about hiring temporary workers. For example, Wheeler and Buckley (2001) propose concerns based on three managerial theories: the transaction cost theory, social network theory, and the expectancy model. Wheeler and Buckley state that, first, according to the transaction cost theory that focuses on uncertainty and asset specificity, employees will take advantage of a lack of supervision. The theory states that temporary workers are

under two-tiered management that can obscure the locus of supervisory responsibility and that this arrangement can become an obstacle to client success in the market-driven environment.

Second, the social network theory maintains that an informal communication network is essential for productivity and organizational commitment. Temporary workers are often excluded from the social communicative network in the workplace and this does not help promote temporary workers' commitment to their work. Thus, productivity may be negatively impacted.

Third, according to the expectancy model, an individual has "expectancy," or goals, associated with their work even as a temporary worker. When the individual feels that the reward from work meets their expectancy, they work more effectively. Client supervisors, therefore, need to identify the expectancy or needs of the temporary worker at an individual level, and this need makes management very complicated.

Additionally, in hiring a temporary worker, client organizations should be aware that outsourcing must be a careful and deliberate strategic option (Jacobs, 1994). According to Jacobs, organizations should keep the core competencies of their business among their regular permanent employees and hire temporary workers in support roles only. Even though they are peripheral, organizations should not compromise the standards of temporary workers, and they should define the work that the temporary workers will perform and not arbitrarily outsource tasking (pp. 172-173).

Another concern relates to the quality of temporary workers. In line with articles in popular business magazines (Ie, 2004), some researchers warn of the disadvantages of hiring temporary workers. Posthuma, Campion and Vargas (2005) suggest that the

biographic and work histories of a temporary worker candidate should be available for review by clients of THS agencies. Clients can infer from such biographies and work histories whether the candidate will be a "marginal" or a "satisfactory" temporary worker (p. 553).

As described here, management literature focuses more on potentially negative consequences of hiring temporary workers than on enhancing understandings of them. In my view, this slant in management studies results from the shortage of studies investigating temporary workers' work experiences and a lack of commitment to hearing their voices.

Organizational Communication and Organizational Behavioral Research

The organizational behavior discipline pays significant attention to temporary workers and their work environments. Connelly and Gallagher (2004) present 10 variables that are "trends" in contingent work. First is commitment, especially the comparison between temporary workers and permanent employees' levels of commitment. Second is job satisfaction. Third is volition whether a temporary work arrangement is by choice or involuntary. Fourth is perceived organizational support and organizational justice. Fifth is organizational citizenship behavior. Sixth is well-being, meaning safety and health. Seventh is work/family conflict. Eighth is performance and knowledge sharing. Ninth is psychological contracts. Tenth is workforce integration and trust. The 10 variables are not mutually exclusive and they are usually studied as variables that affect each other. Among the 10 trends that Connelly and Gallagher (2004) listed above, organizational commitment, organizational justice, and psychological

contract are the components most closely related to my study.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment refers to "a psychological attachment to the employing organization" (McClurg, 1999, p. 5) and it includes three major concepts. First is the concept of "affective commitment," which refers to individuals' level of identification with the organization. Second is the concept of "continuous commitment," which refers to the "perceived costs of leaving the organization." Third is the concept of "normative commitment," which is "a perceived obligation to stay with the organization" (McDonald & Makin, 2000, p. 86). Thus, organizational "affective commitment" is closely related to the concept of "identification" in the discipline of organizational communication.

In regards to "commitment" at work situations that involve temporary workers there are mainly two forms of research. One type of study investigates to what extent temporary workers are "committed" to their THS agencies when compared to the extent to which they are "committed" to their workplace organizations. In this line of research, Veitch and Cooper-Thomas (2009) studied how temporary workers showed their level of commitment to their THS agencies in comparison to how they showed their level of commitment to their workplace organizations.

The second type of study focuses on how temporary workers differ from permanent employees in their level of organizational commitment. On one hand, the studies revealed contradictory results. For example, Van Dyne and Ang (1998) revealed that contingent workers' commitment to their workplace organization was significantly lower than that of permanent employees. On the other hand, McDonald and Makin's

(2000) study demonstrated that permanent employees had lower commitment to their workplace organization in certain types of commitment ("affective" and "normative" commitment) than contingent workers. In addition, Pearce (1993) found that regular and contingent workers had equal levels of organizational commitment.

Organizational Justice

Organizational justice is perceived fairness at the workplace, which plays an important role in this study because I argue it is the primary concept that mediates the relationship between the manner in which individuals are treated by coworkers and supervisors and how such treatment shapes their organizational behaviors. For example, Liden et al. (2003) found that there was a positive correlation between contingent workers' perceived organizational justice and their organizational commitment. For this research Liden et al. (2003) used Niehff and Moorman's (1993) procedural justice scale and the Meyer et al. (1993) organizational commitment scale (p. 616).

There are three types of organizational justice: distributive justice, procedural justice, and interactional justice. The theory of organizational justice requires special attention, and the details will be presented in a separate section later in the literature review.

Communication Research

Communicative studies regarding temporary workers have been performed using qualitative research methods more than quantitative methods, with a few exceptions. One is a comparative study of communicative impression management between temporary workers and newly-hired permanent employees in relation to uncertainty reduction theory and information giving and seeking, by Sias, Kramer, and Jenkins (1997). They found

that temporary workers perceived lower social costs associated with seeking referent information than newly hired permanent employees. This result indicates that temporary workers are less concerned with how others in the workplace perceive their performance than newly-hired permanent employees. Temporary workers also reported giving less information to coworkers and supervisors than newly-hired permanents. The authors assume that temporary workers are physically and communicatively isolated in the workplace and, for this reason, they do not care about giving information to permanent employees.

Another interesting study by Manias, Aitken, Peerson, Parker, and Wong (2003) focused on the incongruent expectations about communication between temporary nurses and permanent nurses. According to Manias et al., hospital managers state that temporary nurses should communicate better with permanent nurses because permanent nurses lack familiarity with temporary nurses. As a result, the temporary nurses need to establish trust. This essentially means that managers at the workplace expect temporary and permanent nurses to communicate directly about a variety of topics. However, THS nurse agencies assert that temporary nurses should communicate with their permanent co-workers through the THS staff in order to avoid unpleasant situations. They are also hoping that, by communicating through the THS staff, the THS nurses would enhance their socialization with other agency nurses. The incongruity between expectations and the desire by temporary nurses' managers to maintain control over their staff causes temporary nurses confusion about their roles in the system. This is a major drawback of dual-management that is split between the worksites and the THS. Temporary workers may pay more attention to everyday work rather than contracts that the THS agencies

made for them.

Social situations of temporary workers have been studied from the rhetorical and critical perspectives more intensely than from other perspectives in communication, too. The foci of critical perspectives on temporary workers are diverse, but one aspect common in every critical perspective is that temporary workers are exploited under current societal conditions that emphasize organizational profits. The system of dual management in which a commercial organization provides the labor force to another commercial organization creates the commodification of temporary workers (e.g., Peck, & Theodore, 2007). In addition, in the case where temporary workers are hired in a relatively large organization, their contract is often created locally in the organization, as opposed to being created by the organization's human resource division. This decentralized employment arrangement restricts temporary workers from being able to protest discrimination if it occurs (Conley, 2003). These findings suggest that it is necessary to examine temporary workers' situations and identify the ways in which their work environment could be improved.

Another focus on temporary workers' experiences important in communication studies is their organizational identification. Gossett's (2001) study on organizational identification suggested that temporary workers certainly identify with their workplace organization, but to a more limited extent than they identify with their THS agencies. Gossett's (2007) later study focuses only on temporary workers' identification with their agencies. These studies serve as a cornerstone for my research into temporary workers' workplace experiences. In order to develop a systematic view of temporary workers' identification, temporary workers' identifications should be examined based on an

assumption that individuals identify with multiple roles and groups concurrently (Barker & Tompkins, 1994). Since identification is one of the key components of this study, it will be discussed in detail in a later section.

Application of the Variables Previously Studied

From the research perspectives introduced in the previous section, three particular variables are clearly important when investigating temporary workers' workplace realities: organizational justice, stigmatization, and identification. Specifically, I investigate in this research how interpersonal and informational justice are related to stigmatization and identification in the workplace and jobs, and how they shape temporary workers' behaviors at the workplace. In this section, I examine how each concept is applied to the research and state the research questions.

Organizational Justice

I propose that "justice" or "fairness" plays as important a role in shaping workplace realities as it does in any life context. Cropanzano, Bowen, and Gilliland (2007) list three reasons why justice matters to working individuals. First, justice can bring more security to a worker in regard to future benefit. As Cropanzano et al. assert, individuals are frequently motivated by financial security and fairness relating to economic matters. Second, individuals have the need to be "valued by important others but not being exploited" by them (p. 35). That is, when individuals care about their work organization and when they are not treated fairly, they become distressed. Third, individuals are concerned about justice because "they believe it is the morally appropriate way others should be treated" (p. 35).

It would be natural to consider that perceived fairness at the workplace would

influence workers' identification and satisfaction, and, hence, their workplace behaviors. Prior to discussing how justice can be related to workplace behaviors, I introduce the history of academic studies into organizational justice.

The concept of "justice" can be dated to Aristotle, but it was not until the latter half of the 20th century that justice was incorporated into organizational studies (Colquitt, Greenburg, & Zapata-Phelan, 2005). As scholars began paying attention to justice in organizational settings, there emerged three major dimensions, or categories, of organizational justice: distributive justice, procedural justice, and interactional justice.

Distributive Justice

Distributive justice is the first category or dimension in organizational justice, and is basically the perceived fairness of outcomes that an organization provides for employees. According to Colquitt, Greenberg and Zapata-Phelan (2005), distributive justice was developed in the early 1960s, based on Stouffer, Suchman, DeViney, Star, and Williams's (1949) relative depreciation theory, Homan's (1961) conceptualization of social exchange, Blau's (1964) idea about the role of expectation, and Adams' (1965) equity theory. There are several studies about the relationships between distributive justice and other concepts closely related to this area of study. For example, Olkkonen and Lipponen (2006) found that distributive justice is positively correlated with organizational identification. Distributive justice also has a high positive correlation with morale and workers' trust in their coworkers (Forret & Love, 2008), and with positive leader-member exchange (Burton, Sablynski & Sekiguchi, 2008).

Distributive justice had a negative correlation to aversive, or harmful, behaviors such as theft and sabotage. For instance, Greenberg (1990, 1993a) revealed that

distributive justice and employee theft were negatively correlated. Ambrose, Seabright, and Schminke (2002) found that distributive justice was negatively correlated to sabotage and they suggest that individuals "engage in sabotage behavior in an attempt to restore equity" (p. 952). Skalicki and Folger (1997), however, found that relationships between perceived low distributive justice and organizational retaliatory behavior were not significant unless procedural and/or interactional justice was low. This is a significant result, which revealed that distributive justice does not seem to play an independent role in shaping employees' conduct, but rather, is important as it is related to procedural and interactional justice.

Procedural Justice

The second category or dimension of organizational justice is procedural justice. Procedural justice is defined as "an individual's belief that allocative procedures which satisfy certain criteria are fair and appropriate" (Leventhal, 1980, p. 30). Trends of studies on organizational justice shifted from distributive justice to procedural justice because the difference between individuals' perceived distributive justice and other's evaluation of the distribution was significant, and distributive justice turned out not to be a useful tool for keeping group dynamics stable and happy (Tyler and Blader, 2003). Leventhal (1980) presented six rules for fair procedures: consistency, bias suppression, accuracy, correctability, representativeness, and ethicality. He suggested that if these qualities rule, fair allocation of means can be achieved.

Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, and Taylor (2000) revealed that perceived procedural justice was positively related to organization-directed citizenship behaviors, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction, and it was negatively related to their

turnover intentions.

In the case of temporary workers, both distributive and procedural justice may be determined by their THS agencies' treatment of them. At the same time, since the contents of labor contracts are determined by the business agreement between the workplace organization and their agencies, temporary workers may attribute their perceived distributive and procedural justice to the workplace organization, too.

Interactional Justice

The third category, interactional justice, is a key component in this dissertation. The concept of interactional justice was introduced by Bies and Moag (1986). According to Bies and Moag (1986), individuals are "sensitive to the quality of interpersonal treatment they receive during the enactment of organizational procedures" (p. 44). Empirical studies into interactional justice revealed that individuals who believed they were treated fairly interpersonally by their supervisors showed significantly higher approval of their supervisors' actions (Bies & Shapiro, 1987, 1988). Interactional justice was further refined by Greenberg (1993a) and subcategorized into interpersonal justice (IPJ) and informational justice (IFJ). IPJ is concerned with whether employees are treated with respect and sensitivity, while IFJ is based on their feelings of whether they are given adequate information. Greenberg (1993b) specifically revealed the negative correlation between IPJ and IFJ and employees' stealing from the workplace. In addition, interactional injustice was more strongly related to aversive behaviors (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997) and sabotage (Ambrose et al., 2002) than were distributive justice and procedural justice.

In the case of temporary workers, it is presumed that they understand the

distributive differences between themselves and the permanent employees at the workplace. In addition, it is the THS agencies that decide the content of temporary workers' contracts and, consequently, distributive and procedural justice for temporary workers is largely dependent on their treatment by their agencies. Interactional justice, however, would be the most influential justice type for temporary workers at their workplace. In this research I first investigate how temporary workers are treated in their workplaces.

Temporary workers usually work with supervisors and coworkers. The status difference may affect how they treat temporary workers. For temporary workers, how they are treated by supervisors may or may not matter more than how they are treated by coworkers. Therefore, the research should differentiate the temporary workers' perceptions of justice exhibited by supervisors and coworkers.

Accordingly, I pose the following research questions:

- RQ1a: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their workplace supervisors?
- RQ1b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their permanent coworkers?
- RQ1c: Do temporary workers' perceptions of interactional justice by supervisors and by permanent coworkers differ?

Temporary Workers as Stigmatized People

The term "stigma" came from an archaic word that described the brands that slaves and criminals received on their bodies (Kenkyusha English-Japanese dictionary for the general reader, 1988, p. 2235). The brand or "stigma" showed the category (e.g.,

criminal or slave) to which they belonged. "Stigma" is defined in the *New Oxford American Dictionary* as "a mark of disgrace associated with a particular circumstance, quality, or person." Thus, "stigma" can be understood as a quality that a person should be ashamed to exhibit.

Goffman (1963) published a cornerstone work about how stigma exists and functions in human society. According to Goffman, individuals tend to classify others based on their attributes. The reason for this is that when a stranger arrives in a new environment, by applying a classification or categorization to the newcomer, the existing group can reduce uncertainty about the person. "Stereotyping" is the term for this process. Stereotyping is, thus, used as a short-cut to sizing up the new person. "Stereotype" is a category attributed to the newcomer, or, "a fixed idea or image that many people have of a particular type of person or thing, but which is often not true in reality" (Oxford Advanced Leader's Dictionary). When an individual holds a negative stereotype of a certain group of people, the stereotype can be referred to as "stigma." Stigmatization, in large part, comes from the fear of a group of people with different or unfamiliar attributes (Ie, 2007).

Stigma can lead to discrimination against members of the stigmatized group of people. There is a range of categorizations for people with stigma in U.S. society. Examples are race, nationality, age, gender, and physical attributes. In addition to these visible characteristics of people, their identities and beliefs, such as their sexuality, or their political and religious beliefs, are also frequently discussed in relation to stigma and discrimination. In most cases, discrimination against people according to the characteristics listed here is prohibited by law. In the case of temporary workers, it is

unique that discrimination regarding wages and social welfare is legally accepted in the work arrangement. This is one of the main obstacles to reducing the stigma with which they are often faced. In my previous research I posited that there are three levels of stigmatization of temporary workers: societal, organizational and individual (Ie, 2007). At the individual level, if individuals who hold stigma against a certain category of people increase in number, such stigma may proliferate and permeate the society, which allows the society as a whole to discriminate against the stigmatized people. Thus, the three levels of stigmatizing interact with one another as a system.

Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Societal Level

In a capitalistic society that encourages economic competition, people with lower incomes are vulnerable to disrespect because they have less choice in their lives than those who are financially privileged. The scarcity of options available to them leads to a sense of powerlessness and this power inequality helps create an informal social hierarchy. In the case of temporary workers, poor job security, welfare, and the fact that they are usually paid less than permanent employees for similar work, can lead them to a hierarchical position which is lower than that of permanent employees.

At the societal level, temporary workers' employment style is advertised through mass media using a key term, "flexibility," which hints that both working as a temporary worker and hiring temporary workers are liberal, modern, and convenient. The following subsection introduces the rhetorical strategies that THS agencies use in mass media to encourage temporary work.

Rhetoric of Flexible Human Resourcing in Mass Media

Messages found in mass media reflect and enhance temporary workers' lower position in the social hierarchy and such messages are usually rhetorically disguised in positive terms. In regards to the messages found in mass media regarding temporary workers, flexibility is a very significant expression that contributes to the standings of temporary workers. Flexibility is perhaps the most frequently used term in mass media advertising by the THS businesses and is how the major characteristics, the purpose, and the growth of the THS industry is described. Flexibility is defined as "being able to suit new conditions or situations" (*Oxford Advanced Leader's Dictionary*).

Here, I introduce the main concepts through which flexibility is denoted and connoted in the popular media. These concepts are found in advertising for the THS businesses and in articles in popular business magazines, which focus on the employment of temporary workers.

"Cost cutting" is a concept often found in popular business magazines, and those magazines claim that employers can reduce costs associated with hiring a permanent employee by up to 40% if they hire a temporary worker instead (Castro & Dickerson, 1993). They further claim that, by hiring temporary workers instead of regular employees, client organizations can save costs that can be spent elsewhere, such as product development.

"Easy recruiting" is another concept included in flexibility. This suggests that, by letting THS agency find employees, client organizations can save the costs and procedures that occur in the process of recruiting. It is particularly convenient when clients need to hire seasonal or temporal workers, because many organizations do not

want to invest time and money for short-time employment.

"Provision of skills" is another benefit from flexible employment. Client organizations usually do not need to train the temporary workers, as the temporary workers are presumed to have already acquired the skills the clients need. In other words, a client organization calls a THS agency and requests the dispatch of a temporary worker who meets the criteria of the client. For example, if a client needs a clerk who can use certain computer software, the THS agency finds a worker who is skilled with the software.

Client organizations can use temporary work arrangements as a screening for hiring as a permanent worker. In fact, this is a major reason for hiring temporary workers in the UK (Forde, 2008). When a client organization intends to hire a new person, a THS can provide the client with a worker who has already been screened and regarded to be a match with the client. Again, it saves the clients' time and effort to recruit employees in this way. The THS industry also claims to be able to select a candidate who can "mesh with a client's corporate culture." (Waxer, 2003, p. 50).

Moreover, client organizations can benefit from the "easy to hire and fire" flexibility, because the contract between a client and a THS agency typically starts as a short-term contract. That is, if the client finds the temporary worker to not be a good match, it can request that the worker be replaced with another when the initial contract ends.

The characteristics noted above are the major areas or benefits in which the rhetoric of flexibility is used for the potential client organizations by THS agencies. However, flexibility is used not only for the clients but also for the individuals who are

looking for a job. As it grew, THS businesses themselves became very competitive among themselves. Each THS agency must develop a good pool of temporary workers and THS agencies attract potential temporary workers by appealing to their flexible work needs. The following discussion gives some examples.

"Easy life" is a concept of flexibility that attracts those who potentially work as temporary workers. In many cases, permanent employees are involved in workplace politics and their personal lives can be constrained by workplace needs and restraints. The rhetoric of flexibility suggests that temporary workers are exempt from such restraints because they are not core members of the workplace. For example, in general, it is said that the obligation to work overtime is not as strict for temporary workers as for permanent employees. Naturally, a permanent employee is considered to have a stronger obligation and duty to devote themselves to the benefit of the workplace organization. Contingent workers do not have the same level of obligation because they do not receive strong protection from the organization for their employment. In addition, indirect employment can buffer the impact of workplace politics and other identity-related issues. Gossett (2001) found that temporary workers' contingent relationship with the workplace organization "seemed to provide (at least for some) a desirable barrier between their personal and work lives" (p. 117). For example, workplace responsibilities often do not remain in the task dimension, but can often include a social dimension as well. Many regular employees feel obliged to attend social gatherings or to get involved in the politics of the workplace. Most temporary workers want to be, and can be, exempt from such complications.

"Flexible scheduling" is convenient for temporary workers when an individual

has other important commitments and cannot work full time, he or she can request that the THS agent find a different job that meets his or her schedule. For example, parents with young children and college students will often see benefits from flexible scheduling (e.g., Feldman et al.,1994).

"Re-entering the workforce" suggests that those who have been out of full-time work, such as retired people or mothers who were taking care of the household duties, can re-enter the workforce starting with short-term contracts (Feldman et al., 1994). For those who are technically or psychologically not ready for full-time work or a long-term commitment, this may be an appropriate choice.

For unemployed people, the THS industry is appealing because it can provide short-term jobs. Individuals can work as temporary workers while looking for permanent employment somewhere else. In addition, as noted previously, it is often the case that an organization will eventually hire a temporary worker who has been working in their workplace. In fact, studies related to organizational commitment regarding contingent workers suggest that temporary workers display their commitment to their work more strongly than permanent employees, since they hope to be recognized for their contributions and to be hired by the workplace organization (e.g., McDonald & Makin, 2000).

In this way, advertisements for THS businesses strategically use the concept of flexibility as a positive marketing tool to both their client organizations and their employees.

The Pitfalls of Flexibility

Although flexibility is a magic term that works favorably for both clients and temporary workers, negative realities are hidden behind the rhetoric of flexibility, as noted previously. The THS industry is thriving by using the enticing term, flexibility, but these realities do not seem very friendly to temporary workers, in general.

Peck and Theodore (2007) portray the flexible labor that THS agencies supply as an economic "shock absorber" that enables businesses to "externalize the costs of economic fluctuations and regulatory risks" (p. 175). Temporary workers' function in economic society is to absorb economic impacts so that such impacts do not affect the welfare of existing workplace organizations and their permanent employees. Peck and Theodore (2007) describe this particular function of temporary workers: "It is not in the business interest of temp agencies to 'absorb' the associated costs; they must instead pass these on, and market pressures mean that this happens in a downstream direction, away from worksite employers and onto the workforce" (p. 190).

Peck and Theodore (2007) also mention that labor-flexibility has become one of the normalized strategies for organizations and that the THS agencies simply deliver the workforce as a commodity on an "episodic basis" (p. 183), which means that commodification of the labor force for employers has become more normal, obvious, and accepted in modern economic society.

In addition, flexibility in regards to human resourcing, "adjustment," which typically requires "dislocation," and thus "requires a painful process which creates hardships for some and opportunities for others" (Adler, 1999, p. 218). Adjustment of human resources typically involves hiring and firing of employees according to the

convenience of employers. This is a harsh reality for traditional permanent employees who are not promised the security of their employment any longer. Flexibility is rhetorically used to erase the harsh image of the reality that such "adjustment" has on employees.

In reality, most people who participate in economic societies know the negative meanings of the flexible labor force noted above. They think temporary workers are suffering from the social economic process that is benefitting more privileged workers including employers and permanent employees. In other words, for many people, temporary workers, especially those who work full time, are individuals who want permanent employment but somehow could not get it.

Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Organizational Level

Client organizations sometimes segregate temporary workers from their permanent employees.

Covert Segregation

Gossett's (2001, 2002) studies on temporary workers' identification with their workplace organizations revealed that there are obstacles that discourage temporary workers from identifying with their workplaces. In other words, organizations often define the "statuses" of employees by enforcing exclusionary practices. For example, temporary workers are denied access to the symbolic artifacts that define the workplace organization, such as internal e-mail accounts, keys or access codes, a mail box, or personal name plates (Gossett, 2002, p. 393). Another finding from the study is that temporary workers are often not allowed to provide feedback or suggestions about work (pp. 393-394). These organizational practices separate "those who have or those who are

allowed" from "those who do not have or those who are not allowed." Many workplace organizations expect temporary workers to understand their "position" and to not challenge their clients, even when they believe they are right or can perform better by using practices not endorsed by the client (e.g., Ie, 2005; Miura, 2005).

Overt Segregation

Overt segregation of temporary workers is another form of stigmatization some organizations practice as a result of a complicated history. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the United States issued a guideline on the rights of temporary and contract workers, which allows them to sue their workplace organization when they are "discriminated" against (Gil, 1998). Until then, there was no law to prohibit discrimination against temporary workers. Boyce, Ryan, Imus, and Morgeson (2007) point out the fact that "differentiation based on status is inherent in many organizational policies and practices," whereas "differentiation based on many stigmatized attributes [such as race, ethnicity, and gender] of individuals in the workplace is prohibited by law or organizational policy" (p. 7).

Another significant background for segregation derives from the class action lawsuit against Microsoft in the 1990s. Former contract employees of Microsoft filed a lawsuit against the media giant asking for benefits similar to those for permanent employees. The California Court ruled in favor of the workers and Microsoft had to pay $97 million to settle the lawsuit. This case was followed by other similar law suits and created a trend that "if a long-term [temporary worker] is trained by the company and is supervised by an employee of the company, the courts tend to consider that person to be a common-law employee" (Cole-Gomolski, 1998, pp. 1-2).

Ironically, this seemingly-favorable rule encourages further segregation of temporary workers from permanent employees in some organizations. This case provided a warning to employers that the "misclassification of temporary workers can have severe consequences" (Viscounty & Taylor, 2002, p. 16). According to this case, long-term temporary workers, or perma-temps, who have been engaging in work that is very similar to that of permanent employees at the workplace are essentially granted the right to claim fringe benefits equal to the benefits of the permanent employees. Reflecting the court decision, some organizations, including the federal government, started to manipulate the formal management system so it would appear that temporary workers do not work "with" permanent employees. For example, it was personally communicated to me by a federal employee that, in her workplace, permanent employees and temporary workers were prohibited from communicating. They were required to communicate through their supervisor, although working on the same project. Thus, some employers try to segregate their permanent employees and contingent workers in order to reduce the possibility that their contingent workers may file law suits and claim benefits.

Concerns over Confidentiality

Sometimes, organizations who hire temporary workers segregate them to prevent disclosure of confidential information. Due to the short-term nature of the employment contract, organizations and their managers are generally unwilling to involve temporary workers in company practices that are not supposed to be exposed to the public. Although contracts include the stipulation that prohibits contract employees from revealing confidential information to anyone outside the workplace, it is difficult to

totally control them when they are not at the workplace. That is, the workplace has to rely on temporary workers' morality. This discourages organizations from treating temporary workers as members equal to their permanent coworkers.

Stigmatization of Temporary Workers at the Individual Level

As a result of societal and organizational attitudes to temporary workers that reinforce segregation of them, individuals at workplace organizations may treat temporary workers accordingly. This is stigmatization of temporary workers at the individual level and is characterized by the following interpersonal phenomena.

Dehumanization

Since temporary workers do not have as much social legal support as permanent employees do, some permanent employees may consider themselves as "more important" personnel in the workplace, and this can lead to marginalizing temporary workers. For example, some temporary workers are not referred to by their names by permanent employees (Maliszewki, 1996). Feldman et al. (1994) describe temporary workers' experiences at the workplace using a strong expression, "dehumanizing." Their research revealed that many temporary workers felt they were being treated without respect at their workplaces. Terms such as "just a temp" and "a nobody" are used to describe how they are treated without respect, and those temporary workers who are treated as marginalized workers claimed that such "dehumanizing" treatment made them feel inferior and negatively affected their egos (p. 54).

Exclusion

Since temporary workers do not legally belong to the workplace organization, they tend to be treated as "outsiders," which does not help organizational attachments that potentially enhance positive employment outcomes such as satisfaction, loyalty, and performance. Such exclusion is manifested through interpersonal treatment at the workplace. Finally, research and popular media report that temporary workers sometimes are not invited to their workplace social gatherings (Goldstein, 2004).

Viewing as a "Know-Nothing" Person

When the work does not require a high skill level, temporary workers are often positioned in support roles for nonmanagerial permanent employees. In addition, the fact that many temporary workers are hoping to get permanent positions invites an overly simplistic assumption that temporary workers do not have permanent positions because they are not capable enough. These temporary workers are often treated with the stereotype that they are less intelligent than the permanent employees. A temporary worker may be identified as a "know-nothing" (Maliszewski, 1996).

Taking into consideration that there is ample basis for stigmatization as introduced above but inadequate knowledge of how this is communicated in context, this research next explores the extent to which temporary workers perceive stigmatization at work. Here, it seeks to identify specific relative sources of stigmatization.

- RQ2a; To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their workplace supervisors?
- RQ2b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their permanent coworkers?

Boyce et al. (2007) state that stigmatizing behaviors can be overt or covert. For example, overt stigmatization may include "direct statements regarding inferiority linked to one's work status or other explicit manifestations of the stereotype." More covert treatment can be "nonverbal expressions of discomfort or dislike, social exclusionary behaviors, and withholding resources or information" (p. 13). In addition, stigmatization can be intentional or unintentional. Since societal and/or organizational views of temporary workers as a different group of people have endorsed individuals' negative stereotyping against them, engaging in a discourse and other communicative behaviors may be disguised as a societal norm, hence, it may occur without intentionally hurting them (Ie, 2007).

Stigmatization occurs through the interpersonal communication process. For example, if a temporary worker perceives that he or she is treated without respect by supervisors, this stigmatization presents lack of interactional justice. It is also lack of interactional justice when the temporary worker feels that permanent coworkers do not provide him or her necessary task information because the coworkers want to stay in power over temporary workers by withholding important information.

Therefore, the following hypotheses were developed:

- H1a: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by supervisor.
- H1b: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by coworkers.

Organizational Identification

Cheney (1983b) defines "identification" as "an active process by which individuals link themselves to elements in the social scene" (p. 342). Cheney and Tompkins (1987) trace the origin of the term "identification" through Herbert Simon and Kenneth Burke to Harold Lasswell's political theory and Sigmund Freud's psychological definition, and argue that it is necessary for human beings to have societal roles or groups to which they can link themselves. Individuals identify with multiple roles and groups at the same time, but to different extents.

The concept of multiple targets is well explained in an article by Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998). They quote Weigert, Teitge, and Teitge (1986) and explain that individuals in the modern era "struggle to control their lives by organizing a mix of personal identities into a meaningful arrangement of biographical importance and situational flexibility within an increasingly rational and abstract social context" (as cited in Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998, p. 311). Scott et al. list four types of identifications based on an intense review of past literature: individuals, work groups, organizations, and occupational or professional roles. Individuals can be interested in and think highly of the well-being of other individuals in their work lives. They can also perceive that the interest of their "immediate and interacting group" is more important than their own interests and other organizational units (p. 313). Individuals may feel that they are a part of their workplace organization as well. At the same time, they may consider themselves as representatives of their job types or professions.

Then how do individual workers develop identification with their workplace organizations? Bullis and Bach (1991) state that "individuals do not develop

relationships directly with organizations but rather through their interactions with members of relevant organizations" (p. 184). Individuals enhance their own organizational identification through communication with coworkers and supervisors. In other words, I assume that if they are treated nicely in a fair and welcoming manner, they develop stronger organizational identification and this leads them to perform better for the organization. Conversely, if they work in a socially negative workplace environment, they may not develop organizational identification and, consequently, not perform as well. For example, Scott, et al. (1999) studied the relationships among identification, communication, leader-member exchange, and turnover intention. The results showed that the type of supervisory communication was the most significant predictor of turnover intention. If workers perceived that their communication with their supervisors was of poor quality, turnover intention was high, and vice-versa. Identification with the workplace had the next strongest relationship to turnover intention. Workers who had weak identification were more likely to have high turnover intention, and vice versa. Scott and his colleagues used multiple regression on survey results and a qualitative interview with their subjects. They found, as well, that some subjects pointed to lack of fairness, or organizational justice, as a reason for their intention to leave the workplace.

My assumptions in this study are based on the two major claims noted above: Individuals identify with multiple targets, and individuals develop identification with organizations "through their interactions with members of relevant organizations" (Bullis & Bach, 1991, p. 184). Although they regard identification as a process, Cheney and Tompkins (1987) assert that identification can also be a product. At the same time, they state that identification is "manifested in the form of concrete decisions, behaviors, or

commitments" (p. 6). They suggest that viewing identification as a product is possible when a researcher acts by "stopping" a process for purposes of "seeing" or describing (p. 5). This concept of identification is worth studying as an important element that can affect a variety of organizational outcomes such as decision making, turnover intention, work motivation, and other behaviors. In addition, identification is interrelated with other concepts such as commitment, loyalty, attachment, alienation, and so forth (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987). For instance, Pickett, Boner, and Coleman (2002) revealed that individuals who highly identify with a group show higher conformity to group norms (as cited in Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martinez, 2008). Aligning with this conceptualization, it is important to investigate how identification relates to other concepts such as temporary workers' social experiences at their workplace and how they behave as a response to their social experiences. It remains to be seen how temporary employees identify with the constellation of work targets. We can predict, based on past research that interactional justice is correlated with stigmatization and identification.

Therefore, the following research question and hypotheses are posed:

- RQ3: To what extent do temporary workers identify with their temporary work agencies, their immediate work group, their job and their workplace organization?
- H2: Perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers are significantly correlated with identification.
- H2a: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor and identification with their immediate work group.

- H2b: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2c: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor and identification with workplace organization.
- H2d: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their workplace organization.
- H2e: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor and identification with their jobs.
- H2f: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their job.
- H2g: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by permanent coworkers and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2h: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by permanent coworkers and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2i: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by permanent coworkers and identification with their workplace organization.
- H2j: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived

stigmatization by permanent coworkers and identification with their workplace organization.

- H2k: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by permanent coworkers and identification with their job.
- H2l: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by permanent coworkers and identification with their job.

Temporary Workers' Workplace Experiences

In order to better understand temporary workers' work realities, this research includes a qualitative approach to its inquiry. Collecting personal stories from temporary workers allows us to understand voices that are not introduced in media, such as publications by the THS industry and general employers. Combined with qualitative reports, statistical analyses may provide richer information about how temporary workers experience their workplaces. Thus, the following questions are developed:

- RQ4a: What kinds of positive experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?
- RQ4b: What kinds of negative experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?

When a negative event occurs, they may feel their ego, safety, or well-being is at risk. Consequently people often respond to the event in order to restore or improve their situations. In the case of temporary workers, investigating how they would react to their negative experiences may help us understand what workplaces might be risking. Therefore, the following question is asked:

- RQ5: What types of actions do temporary workers report in response to negative experiences?

Beneficial Behaviors and Harmful Behaviors

The research questions noted previously are about specific experiences of temporary workers at the workplace. In addition to such inquires, it is important to find out what kinds of behaviors they exhibit in their workplace. Specifically, this research asks how temporary workers shape their behaviors in their workplace.

Why Do Employees Engage in Beneficial Behaviors That Are Not Specified in Their Labor Contracts?

The reality of work life is that all employees are required to adjust to the constantly changing and evolving dynamic systems of work, and temporary workers are not exempt from that. Although temporary workers' tasks are often clarified in their labor contracts, they sometimes encounter situations where they are asked to perform additional tasks.

In addition, individuals often want to contribute to their workplaces. Studies on "organizational citizenship behaviors" are about contributions by employees beyond their obligation to their organization. Organizational citizenship behaviors are "those organizationally beneficial behaviors and gestures that can neither be enforced on the basis of formal role obligations nor elicited by contractual guarantees or recompense" (Organ, 1990, p. 46). There are two theoretical approaches that explain why people engage in organizational citizenship behaviors: social exchange theory and social identity theory.

Social exchange theory argues that, in social systems such as working for an

organization, people's social relationships are based on the exchange of benefits between two parties (Leventhal, 1980). The background for this assertion is the norm of reciprocity, which was conceptualized by Gouldner (1960). According to the norm of reciprocity, individuals help those who have helped them "because reciprocating the receipt of benefits is proper and appropriate for the continued health of the relationships between people" (Moorman & Burne, 2005, p. 359). From the perspective of social exchange theory, employees will be motivated to reciprocate the perceived benefit provided by the organization. In addition, "there is a general expectation of some future return, thus the processes within social exchange do not ignore self-interest. However, the exact nature of the obligation is not agreed upon in advance" (p. 360). That means, not all exchanges are "prescribed and based on clearly articulated contractual relationships or legal forms" (p. 360).

Social exchange theory, then, suggests that temporary workers may engage in behaviors beyond their contract if temporary workers perceive that their workplace organizations are providing them with adequate benefits. At the same time, they may engage in beneficial behaviors to create obligation in the workplaces hoping the workplace organizations hire them as permanent employees.

Social identity theory takes another approach to why individuals engage in organizational citizenship behaviors, or engage in behaviors beyond their duties. Tajfel (1972) defined the concept of social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (as cited in Hogg & Terry, 2000, p. 122). Moorman and Byrne (2005) address why individuals engage in behaviors that are beneficial to the

groups to which they belong based on Tyler and Blader's (2000) argument.

> When people feel positive about the group (e.g., pride) to which they identify, they expend energy to maintain that favorable identification with the group by working harder for the group's success. People may see the group's status and effectiveness as a source of their positive self-identity and will be motivated to maintain and even enhance the group's status as a way to maintain and even enhance their own. They are hence motivated to the welfare of the group and support its continued success by conforming to group rules, remaining active within the group, and engaging in extra-role behaviors (like OCB [organizational citizenship behaviors]) (p. 363).

Employees feel they are a part of their workplace and engage in beneficial behaviors in the workplace because the success of the workplace maintains and improves their identities.

According to social identity theory, whether temporary workers engage in beneficial behaviors beyond their duty may depend on the degree to which they identify with their workplace.

Why Do Employees Engage in Harmful Behaviors in The Workplace?

Robinson and Bennett (1997) stated in their literature review that there are several factors that provoke individuals to engage in deviant behaviors. These include financial or economic pressures, social pressures, poor physical working conditions, inequity or unjust treatment, and negatively perceived changes in the work environment. These factors, except for the "negative changes in the work environment," are typical forms of organizational justice. Examining these potential causes for deviant behavior, Robinson and Bennett studied what motivates the individual in situations mentioned above to produce actual deviant behaviors. According to Robinson and Bennett, an individual "attempts to reconcile the disparity by repairing the situation, restoring equity, or

improving the current situation, [which is] similar to the deterrence component of responses to injustice, whereby the individual seeks to repair a perceived injustice" (p. 16). In addition, individuals also need to "vent, release, or express their feelings of outrage, anger or frustration, similar to the retributive component of responses to injustice" (p. 16). Glomb and Liao (2003) also found that organizational justice was significantly negatively correlated with employees' engaging in aggressive behaviors, both against the workplace and against other individuals. Therefore, when organizational justice is not present, individuals may attempt "pay-back" for their negative experiences or to "get an equivalent thing" by engaging in a variety of retributive activities (p. 488).

Individuals may react harmfully to negative experiences by retaliating. Retaliation, or revenge, may be perceived in general as being both immoral and justified, depending on the circumstances. Given that forgiveness is philosophically valued, engaging in negative behaviors in response to negative behaviors received from others may not be appreciated. However, retaliation is also understood as a practice of justice. Retaliation or revenge is often regarded as a type of social exchange, and if an unreasonable behavior is exhibited by an offender, the victim may decide that he or she is justified to engage in pay-back with a similar or a different type of behavior that causes a similar level of damage to the original offender.

Robinson and Bennett (1997) presented a cornerstone work on the nature of "deviant behaviors" at the workplace. In their study, Robinson and Bennett insist on the importance of three things: determining whose actions constitute workplace deviance; determining the role of intent that underlies the actions of the deviant actor; and limiting the focus to the violation of organizational norms. They also developed a two-

dimensional typology of workplace deviance. The two dimensions are the extent to which the target is organizationally or interpersonally directed and the extent to which there is serious or minor deviance. The resultant typology consists of four major categories. The first category, organizationally directed and minor deviance, includes production deviance such as absenteeism, tardiness, and withholding effort. The second category, organizationally directed and more serious deviance, may include property-related deviance, such as theft, sabotage, and vandalism. The third category, interpersonally directed and minor deviance, includes political deviance such as spreading rumors, showing favoritism, and backstabbing. The final category, interpersonally directed and serious deviance, includes personal aggression such as sexual harassment, verbal abuse, and physical assault (p. 8).

In addition to Robinson and Bennett's (1995) study, Aquino, Tripp, and Bies (2001) found that initial victims of aversive behaviors who have organizational status relatively higher than the initial offenders tend to engage in retaliatory behaviors more often than those victims whose status is relatively lower than that of the original offenders. This indicates that the occurrence and nature of the retaliatory behaviors may be influenced by the nature of participants' interpersonal power relationships. The Robinson and Bennett and Aquino et al. (2001) findings reveal that status difference may play an important role in shaping retaliatory behaviors in the workplace. The study of negative behaviors as a result of individuals' experiences in the workplace should be extended from focusing strictly on permanent or regular employees to those workers in any type of employment arrangement because of the diversity of employment arrangements in the United States.

In the case of temporary workers and their permanent co-workers, or permanent supervisors, the interpersonal power relationships are clear: the permanent employees at a workplace have higher status than the temporary workers. Consequently, being applied to Robinson and Bennett's (1995) two-dimensional categorization of aversive behaviors, it is presumed that temporary workers engage in less serious and more organizational retaliation behaviors in response to their unfair treatment. For example, they may steal office supplies, waste company resources, report false hours to get paid more than they deserve, or try to diminish the reputation of the workplace organization outside of work.

Temporary workers may be unlikely to engage in serious interpersonal retaliatory behaviors, and they may not exhibit serious interpersonal offensive behaviors. Since they have less power than their permanent peers, they may fear retaliation in response to their retaliation to the original offense. For instance, they may report, and exaggerate, their experience of stigmatized treatment, by a certain permanent employee to the manager, but they may be less likely to verbally harass the worker that stigmatized them.

Based on these previous findings and arguments, I address the following research questions:

- RQ6: Do temporary workers engage in beneficial and harmful behaviors beyond their contract?
- RQ7: What kinds of beneficial and harmful behaviors do temporary workers engage in?

Finally, incorporating the four major concepts in this research, the following research question is asked.

- RQ8: Do perceived interactional justice, stigmatization, and identification with

the THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization predict beneficial and harmful behaviors at the workplace?

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

Eligibility of participants was set as those who were currently working or previously worked as temporary workers and were age 18 or older. Temporary workers are those workers who are dispatched by THS agencies to a workplace in need of additional staff to perform tasks on a temporary basis. Respondents also had to be able to read and write in English and have access to the internet in order to answer the online questionnaire.

Ninety nine (99) responses were collected. Fifteen of these were omitted because they were incomplete. As a result, 84 responses were included in the analyses.

The age of the participants ranged from 19 to 65 with a mean of 36.62. The sample consisted of 57 Caucasians, 5 Hispanics, 4 Asians, 1 African, 3 others, and 14 unknown. Two respondents reported their highest education completed as grade school, 15 completed high school, 5 completed vocational training school, 20 completed associate's degrees, 18 completed bachelor's degrees, and 10 completed graduate school. The respondents were asked to specify where they lived. Sixty-two reported they lived in Utah, 3 in Texas, 2 in Michigan, 1 each in California, North Carolina, Washington, and Guadalajara, Mexico.

The types of jobs were categorized into five main categories: office

administration, customer service, physical labor, special skills, and academic assisting. Twenty-four participants had office administration jobs, including clerical and data entry work. Twenty were customer service staff, which included attending to customers in person and on the phone, cashiering, sales and food service. Sixteen individuals were included in the physical labor category, which included production, mechanics, custodial, and construction. Ten respondents identified jobs using special skills such as health care providers, IT professionals, and artists. Last, educational staff included research assistants, and 5 individuals were involved in this job category.

The mean length of time in the current job (or last job if they were not currently working) was 26.83 weeks, ranging from less than 1 week to 155 weeks. The median was 13 weeks. In addition, the respondents' total length of time worked as temporary workers averaged 95.63 weeks, ranging from less than a week to 1290 weeks, and the median was 30 weeks.

The mean number of coworkers who were regular employees in the same workplace was 33.54 and the median was 9.50. The mean number of other temporary workers was 14.16, and the median was 2.00. Only 6 respondents reported they had coworkers of other types (not specified) of employment than regular employees and temporary workers. Eight individuals reported there were more temporary coworkers than regular coworkers.

Sampling

Sampling Techniques

For social research, simple random sampling is the ideal sampling method since it makes "the probability for selection equal" (Keyton, 2005, p. 122). However, simple

random sampling was impossible for this study because I could not have a contact list of all temporary workers or their employers. The sampling technique used in this recruiting method was, thus, purposive sampling.

The only problem for this method was, on the internet, one cannot tell if the respondents truly represent the population. In other words, it was not possible to monitor the respondents' employment circumstances on the internet. However, it was reasonable to assume that individuals would not answer a survey if they were not currently or formerly a temporary employee. Therefore, this method was a valid way to recruit respondents. In addition, snowball sampling was used. I asked personal acquaintances to invite temporary workers known to them to participate in my study.

I acknowledge there are limitations to generalizing the results of this research to the population of temporary workers. First, respondents must be able to answer the questions in English. Former executive personnel who worked in the THS industry personally communicated to me that some temporary workers, especially those who work as blue-collar workers, did not speak English. Second, and in the same sense, the respondents had to be literate, while some temporary workers might not be. Third, the respondents had to be capable of using and having access to a computer and the internet. Presumably, white-collar workers were more likely to meet these conditions than blue-collar workers.

Sampling Procedures

I attempted to recruit respondents to my study in several different ways.

Asking THS Agencies to Participate in The Study

I wrote recruiting letters to 20 THS agencies: some were branches of large companies operating in multiple states, and others were operating locally in Salt Lake City. Letters were addressed to the branch managers and sent via email to the "contact" link in the company web site. No company responded to my invitation via email.

Next, I contacted THS agencies in Salt Lake City, Utah and Denver, Colorado by phone. First, I contacted the human resource department personnel of each THS. The human resource personnel were given a chance to review the questionnaire in order to avoid possible impediments to their human resource practices. Some adjustments to the questionnaire were made as a result.

I followed up by calling the agencies I had emailed previously. Some of the representatives who answered gave me names of the persons who could help me, and others simply refused to forward my call to their managers. Later, I personally visited the THS agencies and met with managers face to face. Individuals of three THS agencies agreed to discuss my research.

At the same time, I visited 5 other local THS agencies without appointments, such as those that are operating locally within specified areas including physical labor and health care. One company agreed to post an invitation to my research on their web-page. In addition, I visited six THS agencies I previously called in Denver. Among the six companies operating in Denver, two companies' representatives allowed me to present my study and invitation to the research to their management. Unfortunately, they both decided they could not participate in my research.

In the meetings with THS personnel, several pieces of information were

particularly communicated.

First, the research was for my Ph.D. degree in organizational communication, with special emphasis on temporary workers and their experiences. The purpose of the study was to enhance understanding about temporary workers' workplace experiences and their communication with supervisors and permanent coworkers at their workplace. In particular, I studied how the quality of interpersonal communication between workplace permanent employees and temporary workers influence temporary workers' workplace identifications and how it would affect their behaviors in the workplace. Second, the questionnaire used the internet-based survey device, "SurveyMonkey." SurveyMonkey allows respondents to be totally anonymous by not collecting their IP addresses. My dissertation adviser, Professor Connie Bullis in the Department of Communication at the University of Utah, and I would be the only people to have access to the individual responses. I would analyze responses to address the research purposes. I would then write the dissertation based on the results of the analyses. When I had completed the dissertation research, the temporary help agencies would be invited to a presentation of my research. Third, the questionnaire would not ask respondents where they were employed. However, I would conduct the survey in such a way that only I could differentiate from which source they linked to the questionnaire site. By doing so, I could compare the research results of each agency with overall results. If any of the participating THS agencies would like to be identified as participants in my study, I would identify them in a note expressing appreciation for their involvement. No agencies would be identified unless a written request is submitted by the agency. Fourth, the participating agencies were asked to forward an email to their temporary workers

containing a link to my internet survey. They were also asked not to coerce their temporary workers to take part in this study. In addition, the participating individuals should be informed they could withdraw from this study at any time without specifying a reason.

No THS agency agreed to participate in my study except for the two Utah local agencies. The reasons why most of the THS agencies did not participate in the research were: 1) they were too busy, 2) they had a company regulation that they could not ask their employees to participate in any activities not related to their employment, 3) they needed permission from their headquarters and declined to submit a request to higher management. Consequently, only the two THS agencies mentioned previously participated.

Asking Hospitals for Permission to Invite Temporary Nurses to the Study

At the same time, I contacted two regional hospitals' human resource departments to invite temporary nurses. One hospital HR personnel said they did not have temporary workers and the other said they did not want me to bother nurses at work.

Inviting Graduate Students of the University of Utah

I sought help from academic departments of the University of Utah based on the assumption that some graduate students may have had experiences as temporary workers. Several departments agreed and electrically forwarded my invitation to the research and the link to the online survey to their graduate students.

Inviting Other Universities' and Colleges' Temporary Help Service

I sent an invitation to the universities and colleges in other states that had their own THS program. A total of 17 THS programs in universities and colleges in the United States were contacted via email.

Exploring SurveyMonkey's "Buy survey Program"

I contacted the online survey program that I used for this study, SurveyMonkey, to find out if I could use their "Buy Survey Program." The Buy Survey Program was designed to help those who needed responses to invite its pool of respondents to their studies. The users of the service pay a certain amount of money upon the completion of the survey. However, they limit the numbers of questions to 50, which was fewer than the number of the questions asked in the questionnaire for my research and therefore was not an option for this study. Moreover, they had general targeting, such as targeting based on gender, age, and income, but could not specify targets such as "those who have worked as temporary workers."

Contacting Personal Friends and Acquaintances

My personal friends and acquaintances were invited to participate in my study.

Posting Recruitment Ads in Internet Forums

I posted invitations to the research in the discussion forums and mass public websites, such as Craig's List and Pinterest.

In the process of recruitment, I applied to the Institutional Review Board for approvals of amendments in methods three times. The first request was to change the

wording of some questions that had been requested by one of the THS agencies who participated in the research. The second request was that I needed to add some other recruiting paths, such as posting an invitation in public internet forums including Craig's List and others. The third request was made because I decided to increase the motivation to participate in the survey by adding incentives, which was to donate 1 dollar to a charity group of choice. Upon the completion of the questionnaire, the respondents were invited to choose one of the four charity groups, American Cancer Society, Big Brothers Big Sisters, The Humane Society of the United States, and Make a Wish Foundation of America. I have donated the money to the four charity groups according to the numbers of the respondents' options. All amendments were approved by the IRB.

Ethical Issues and Confidentiality

All efforts were taken to keep the participants' identities anonymous and provide informed consent via an internet survey and the IRB approved the methodology of my study. Internet survey procedures for collecting information have several points to be considered. First, in regard to the confidentiality issue, the security of the internet survey system was considered. The SurveyMonkey survey system uses Secure Socket Layer (SSL) protocol, which converts information that a user inputs into code; it is quite unlikely that the information provided by the respondents would be shared with unauthorized parties. Since the survey site is secure and confidential, the Institutional Review Board waived the precondition for written informed consent. Instead respondents' participation was taken as informed consent.

Second, the respondents may feel psychological distress when they are asked about their negative experiences. This is not specific to surveys conducted on the internet,

but as in other studies, participants were informed they could withdraw from the study at any time. Specifically, the survey was designed in such a way that respondents did not have to answer any of the questions.

Third, no one including myself could track the respondents' identities from the survey site. In addition, only my dissertation advisor and I had access to the survey results. With regard to the security of the printed version of responses, they were kept in my personal office and not shown to any party except for my dissertation advisor, and a coder hired to code the qualitative responses to open-ended questions of the survey. Only aggregate results will be published or shared with THS agencies or other interested parties.

Procedures

The questionnaire was constructed and distributed through SurveyMonkey online questionnaire program. The questionnaire consisted of an invitation message and explanation of the research purpose, some demographic questions, and measures designed to measure the variables and collecting qualitative information. The questionnaire is provided in Appendix A.

Invitation

The invitation message section included the purpose of the study, confidentiality, contact information of the researcher and the Institutional Review Board of the University of Utah, and approximate minutes expected to complete the questionnaire.

Job Description and Tenure

The questionnaire asked respondents how long they have worked in the current workplace as a temporary worker or in the last workplace if they were not currently working, as well as the total length of temporary work experience they had over the course of their work history.

In order to understand the nature of their work, the questionnaire asked the respondents what type of job they were assigned to at the workplace. In addition, they were asked to indicate how many coworkers they worked with.

Measures

Identification

The participants' identification included four targets: their THS agency, immediate work group, jobs, and workplace organization. The idea of using multiple targets to determine the level of integration in an organization derives from the argument about multiple targets of identification by Bullis and Bach (1989), Barker and Tompkins (1994), Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998) and Ie (2004). These studies revealed that individuals identify both with groups and roles. Therefore, my research included both groups and roles as identification targets. The identification targets were: the THS agency, the immediate work group, the workplace organization, and the job.

Cheney (1983) developed the Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) for the purpose of finding the extent to which employees identified with their workplace. According to Cheney, there are three "identifiable, but analytically distinct" components of organizational identification: membership, loyalty, and similarity (p. 349). Drawing on the three components introduced by Cheney, my measures included three questions

that addressed each component of organizational identification. The three questions were: "I feel that I belong to (target)"; "I have a lot in common with the staff at ____"; and "I feel little loyalty to my ____" (reverse question). In addition to the three questions, I added a question that directly asked for the respondents' perception of identification: "I identify with ____." Therefore, four questions were asked to measure the temporary workers' identification levels with each identification target. Since there were four identification targets, there were a total of 16 questions to measure identification. The response format for all of these questions was a seven-point Likert scale.

Cronbach's alpha reliabilities were .772 for their THS agency, .706 for their work group, .757 for jobs, and .732 for workplace organization. The tests of inter-item correlation coefficients revealed that Question 3 detracted from scale reliability for all identification targets. Question 3 was an inverted question and may have confused the respondents. Therefore, Question 3 for each identification target was omitted from the analyses.

The reliabilities were higher than the general .80 standard when Question 3 was omitted: .863 for temporary help agencies, .861 for immediate work group, .850 for jobs, and .869 for workplace organization. Therefore, the mean scores of the rest of the questions for each identification target were used for the analyses.

Perceived Interactional Justice

Section 3 of the questionnaire measured the temporary workers' perceptions of interactional justice and stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers. The questions regarding interactional justice included two items adapted from Moorman's (1991) measures of interactional justice and five from Colquitt's (2001) measures of

interpersonal and informational justice (see Appendix A).

The concept of interactional justice was introduced by Bies and Moag (1986), and both Moorman's (1991) and Colquitt's (2001) measures are derived from Bies and Moag's conceptualization of interactional justice. Moorman (1991) developed his measures of interactional justice using confirmatory factor analysis, and the reliability for his scale was .93 (p. 851). Colquitt (2001) further distinguished two subtypes of interactional justice: IPJ and IFJ. He introduced four questions to measure the levels of IPJ, three of which I used in this study. He developed five questions for IFJ, two of which I used. Colquitt's (2001) reliabilities were .92 and .88, respectively. I also included two of Moorman's (1991) IFJ questions as they were especially short and concise. Each item was asked using a five-point Likert scale, with response choices ranging from -2 to +2.

In the questionnaire, the questions about perceived IPJ included items; 1) "My supervisor/coworkers treat me with respect," 4) "My supervisor/coworkers treat me with dignity," and 7) "My supervisor/coworkers treat me in a polite manner." IFJ items include the following: 2) "My supervisor/coworkers provide me with information sufficient for my job," 5) "My supervisor/coworkers communicate with me in a timely manner," 9) "My supervisor/coworkers can suppress personal biases," and 10) "My supervisor/coworkers consider my view points."

The reliabilities for IPJ and IFJ were tested using Cronbach's alpha for IPJ by supervisor ($n = 3$, $\alpha = .909$), IFJ by supervisor ($n = 4$, $\alpha = .852$), IPJ by coworkers ($n = 3$, $\alpha = .883$), and IFJ by coworkers ($n = 4$, $\alpha = .852$). The result of a Pearson correlation calculation showed a high correlation between IPJ and IFJ by supervisor ($r = .818$) and between IPJ and IFJ by coworkers (.867).

Reflecting the fact that IPJ and IFJ were highly correlated, I combined the IPJ and IFJ into one variable, interactional justice. This treatment of interactional justice as a single variable rather than two variables, IPJ and IFJ, conforms to the original conceptualization of justice about interpersonal communication between workers. In addition, question 9 that asked about suppression of biases was omitted since it was too obscure to address communicative actions.

The reliabilities of the six questions were calculated using Cronbach's alpha. The alpha was .931 for interactional justice by supervisors and it was.931 for interactional justice by coworkers.

Perceived Stigmatization by Permanent Employees

In addition to the interactional justice measures, Sections 3.1 and 3.2 of the questionnaire asked the degree to which temporary workers perceived being stigmatized by their permanent supervisors and coworkers in the workplace. These questions were developed based on previous research results that revealed many temporary workers were treated as "know-nothing" and "outsiders" (e.g., Boyce et al., 2007). The questions in the questionnaire regarding perceived stigmatization included "My supervisor/coworkers treats me as if I am less capable than permanent employees," "I feel stigmatized as a temporary worker by my supervisor/coworkers," and "My supervisor/coworkers treats me as an "outsider." Cronbach's Alphas for the three questions were .887 for the supervisors and .895 for coworkers. Since these Alphas were high enough, the mean scores of the three questions were used for analyses.

Positive and Negative Experiences

Respondents were asked to provide one story about their positive experiences in the workplace as well as how they responded to those experiences. Then, they were asked how intense the experience was for them based on a five-point Likert-scale. In addition, they were asked to indicate how the positive experience impacted their attitudes toward the workplace based on a seven-point Likert-scale.

Next, the respondents were asked to provide one story about their negative experiences in the workplace and how they responded to the experiences. They were also requested to indicate the intensity of their experiences and their attitude change after the experience using the same methods used for the inquiry as for their positive experiences.

Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors

Beneficial and harmful behaviors were examined in two ways. First, participants were asked to respond to two five-point Likert scale questions. One of these asked how often they have engaged in beneficial behaviors that were beyond the duties mandated by their contracts in their workplace. The other asked how often they engaged in harmful behaviors. Second, they were asked to provide one example of a beneficial behavior and one example of a negative behavior they engaged in in the workplace.

Demographics

Lastly, the respondents were asked to fill out the questions about their demographic information. These included age, gender, ethnicity, highest completed education, and where they resided.

The questionnaire was concluded with a note thanking them for their participation.

Analyses

Statistical computations in this research were done using the SPSS statistical software. In addition to SPSS, an on-line free-ware, StatsToDo, was used for the post hoc statistical power calculations.

- RQ1a: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their workplace supervisors?
- RQ1b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their permanent coworkers?
- RQ1c: Do temporary workers' perceptions of interactional justice by supervisors and by permanent coworkers differ?

For RQ1a to c, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the extent to which temporary workers perceived interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers. Then, a paired-samples t-test was used to determine if there were significant differences between interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers.

- RQ2a; To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their workplace supervisors?
- RQ2b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their permanent coworkers?

Some changes were made to the survey to accommodate one of the THS agency's concerns regarding their liability. Specifically, in Section 4 of the original questionnaire, item 6 for both Questions 1 and 2, (stigmatizing treatment by supervisor and coworker(s), respectively) in the original version asked, "I feel stigmatized as a temporary worker by my supervisor," and "I feel stigmatized as a temporary worker by my permanent co-

worker(s)." For the modified version, the questions were worded as, "I am seen by my supervisor as less valuable or less important because I am a temporary worker" and "I am seen by my permanent co-worker(s) as less valuable or less important because I am a temporary worker." The revised questions were administered to roughly half of the sample. In order to compare the consistency of the newly worded questions with the original phrasing, I conducted independent sample t-tests on the original questions and the modified questions for the four items and found no significant differences. Therefore, I did not separate the responses for the questions between the original wording and the modified version. Descriptive statistics and paired-sample t-tests were used to analyze the results for RQ2a and b.

- H1a: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by supervisor.
- H1b: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by coworkers.
- Pearson's correlation coefficients (one-tailed) were calculated to test H1a and H1b.
- RQ3: To what extent do temporary workers identify with their temporary work agencies, their immediate work group, their job and their workplace organization?

Calculation of descriptive statistics and a repeated-measures test were performed to answer RQ3.

- H2: Perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers are significantly correlated with identification.

Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated to analyze H2a to H2l.

- RQ4a: What kinds of positive experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?
- RQ4b: What kinds of negative experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?

The grounded theory method was used to code and interpret responses to the open ended questions exploring RQ4a and RQ4b. Typically this method involves three levels of coding: initial coding, intermediate coding, and advanced coding. The initial coding of the responses focused on the temporary workers' positive and negative experiences, specifically words and phrases that had positive and negative connotations were carefully read and related events and emotions were identified. During the intermediate coding, a variety of themes emerged. For instance, which persons were involved in negative or positive events, the extent to which the events were social or work related, and whether the events were associated with their morale were coded. On the advanced coding stage, major themes were determined by integrating the focus of this study such as perceived interactional justice and stigmatization in the workplace into the themes found during intermediate coding stage (Birks & Mills, 2011). In all coding processes, the responses were read repeatedly.

As a result of the coding process, five main themes of positive experiences and seven main themes of negative experiences emerged. In order to assess the accuracy and reliability of the coding, a second coder reviewed the same responses in the questionnaire. After receiving a written description of each category, the second coder was instructed to categorize each reported experience into the themes numerically. The intercoder

reliabilities for the positive and negative experiences were computed, and the kappa of positive experiences was .920 and that of negative experiences was .861. In parallel with the coding of the negative experiences, components of organizational justice (interpersonal, informational, stigmatization, procedural, distributive) were analyzed. The kappa was .767 for the coding of organizational justice components in negative experiences. When the second coder and I disagreed, we discussed the responses until we agreed.

- RQ5: What types of actions do temporary workers report in response to negative experiences?

The grounded theory method was used to analyze how they responded to their negative experiences.

- RQ6: Do temporary workers engage in beneficial or harmful behaviors beyond their contract?

Descriptive statistics and a paired-samples t-test were used to analyze RQ6. A paired-samples t-test was used to determine if there was a significant difference between how often the participants engaged in beneficial behaviors and harmful behaviors.

Additionally, responses were collapsed into two groups. Those who have engaged at least once in beneficial behaviors beyond their required work were categorized as the "yes" group for the beneficial behaviors, and those who have never engaged in such behaviors were categorized as the "no" group. Forty nine respondents were included in the "yes" group, and 19 respondents were included in the "no" group. In the same way, those respondents who engaged in harmful behaviors at least once were grouped into the "yes" group, and those who have never engaged in harmful behaviors

were grouped into the "no" group. Thirteen respondents were included in the "yes" group, and 58 respondents were included in the "no" group.

- RQ7: What kinds of beneficial or harmful behaviors do temporary workers engage in?

The grounded theory method was also used for this research question. A second coder coded each event into the major themes I determined as a result of the three-stage coding.

- RQ8: Do perceived interactional justice, stigmatization, and identification with the THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization predict beneficial and harmful behaviors at the workplace?

In order to explore the relationships between the respondents' engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors and perceived interpersonal justice, stigmatization, and identification, stepwise regression and stepwise discriminant analyses were conducted.

Post Hoc Analyses

Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated to investigate if there were significant relationships between the respondents' age, length of time they worked in the workplace, and their response level with each identification target. In addition, independent-samples t-tests were used to examine if the gender of the respondents was related to their perceived interactional justice by supervisor and coworkers, perceived stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers, identification with their THS agency, immediate work group, job and workplace organization.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

Research Question 1

Research Questions 1a, 1b, and 1c addressed temporary workers' perceptions about interactional justice by their supervisors and interactional justice by coworkers.

RQ1a: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their workplace supervisors?

- RQ1b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive interactional justice in their interactions with their permanent coworkers?
- RQ1c: Do temporary workers' perceptions of interactional justice by supervisors and by permanent coworkers differ?

Table 1 shows the results of RQ1a and RQ1b. The mean score of perceived interactional justice by supervisor was .7979 (*SD* = .94195, *n* = 80) and that of coworkers was .9091 (*SD* = .80729, *n* = 77) while the minimum was -2 and maximum was 2. Those

Table 1

Perceived Interactional Justice by Supervisor and Coworkers

	n	Mean	SD	m≤.00	m>.00
Interactional Justice by Supervisors	80	.7979	.94195	21.3%	78.7%
Interactional Justice by Coworkers	77	.9091	.80729	18.2%	81.8%

whose perceived positive interactional justice score was more than .00 were regarded as having experienced positive interactional justice while scores lower than .00 indicated negative interactional justice. Positive interactional justice by supervisors was reported by 78.7% of the respondents, whereas 81.8% of the respondents reported positive interactional justice by coworkers.

For Research Question 1c, a paired-samples t-test was conducted to investigate whether the means of perceived interactional justice by supervisor and coworkers significantly differ from each other. Table 2 shows the results of the test.

The mean difference between interactional justice by supervisor and coworkers was -.13514 with the standard deviation of .79077. The t was -1.470 and the significance level of .146. Therefore, there was no significant difference between perceived interactional justice by supervisor and by coworkers.

In sum, the majority of the respondents perceived some level of interactional justice by their supervisor and coworkers. The respondents' perceived interactional justice did not significantly differ between supervisor and coworkers.

Research Question 2

Research Questions 2a and 2b inquired about the extent to which temporary workers perceived stigmatization by their supervisors and coworkers.

- RQ2a: To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their

Table 2

Paired-Samples t-Test: Interactional Justice by Supervisor and by Coworkers

Mean	df	SD	t	p	Power
-.13514	73	.79077	-1.470	.146	0.3052

workplace supervisors?

- RQ2b: To what extent do temporary workers perceive stigmatization by their workplace permanent coworkers?

Table 3 shows the results of Research Questions 2a and 2b. The mean score for perceived stigmatization by supervisor was -.2972 and the standard deviation was 1.21866 while the minimum was -2 and maximum was 2. Of the valid answers, 32.5% scored greater than zero, which shows they perceived some level of stigmatization by the supervisor. The majority of the respondents did not perceive stigmatization by supervisor, with 67.5% scoring zero or less. The mean score for stigmatization by coworkers was -0.2807 with a standard deviation of 1.09145. Approximately 30 % of the participants scored greater than zero, which indicated some level of stigmatization by coworkers existed, and approximately 70 % of the participants scored zero or less.

A paired-samples t-test was administered to compare the levels of perceived stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers. The result shows that there was no significant difference between the participants' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers ($t = .134$, $df = 75$, $p = .894$).

Table 3

Perceived Stigmatization by Supervisor and Coworkers

	n	Mean	SD	m≤.00	m>.00
Stigmatization by Supervisor	83	-.2972	1.21866	67.5%	32.5%
Stigmatization by coworkers	76	-.2807	1.09145	69.7%	30.3%

Paired-Samples t-Test	Mean Difference	df	SD	t	p	Power
Supervisor - Coworkers	.01316	75	.85797	.134	.894	.2612

In sum the majority of the respondents did not feel stigmatized by their supervisors and by their permanent coworkers. There was no significant difference between the respondents' perceived stigmatization by their supervisors and coworkers.

Hypothesis 1

Hypotheses 1a and 1b hypothesized that temporary workers' perceptions of interactional justice is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization.

- H1a: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by supervisor.
- H1b: Temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers is negatively correlated with their perceived stigmatization by coworkers.

Results are found in Table 4.

H1a and b predicted negative correlations between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by their supervisors and permanent coworkers. The Pearson correlation was -.647 (n = 80, p = .000) between perceived interactional justice by supervisor and stigmatization by supervisor, and it was -.482 (n = 75, p = .000) between perceived IPJ by coworkers and stigmatization by coworkers. The participants' perceived interactional justice by supervisor was negatively correlated with stigmatization by supervisor, and interactional justice by coworkers was negatively correlated with stigmatization by coworkers. Therefore, both H1a and H1b were supported.

Table 4

One-tailed Pearson Correlations Among Major Variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Interactional Justice by Supervisor	.7979	.94195	1	-.647**	.613**	-.373**	.458**	.345**	.420**	.563**	.129	-.057
				(1)	(1)	(.9597)	(.9958)	(.9291)	(.9871)	(.9999)	((.2852))	((.1208))
2 Stigmatization by Supervisor	-.2972	1.21866		1	-.346**	.727**	-.235*	-.219*	-.132	-.348**	-.053	.213*
					(.9305)	(1)	(.6659)	(.6112)	(.3102)	(.9331)	((.1142))	((.5602))
3. Interactional Justice by Coworkers	.9091	.80729			1	-.482**	.393**	.406**	.272**	.511**	-.121	.083
						(.9982)	(.9744)	(.9814)	(.7796)	(.9994)	((.2627))	((.1701))
4. Stigmatization by Coworkers	-.2807	1.09145				1	-.139	-.189	-.121-	-.215*	.071	.162
							(.3323)	(.5046)	(.2769)	(.5972)	((.1459))	((.3868))
5. Identification with THS agency	-.0754	1.44080					1	.337**	.436**	.571**	.026	.029
								(.9179)	(.9918)	1	((.0765))	((.0802))
6. Identification with Immediate Work group	.5714	1.46770						1	.612**	.705**	.153	-.180
									(1)	(1)	((.3579))	((.4469))
7. Identification with Job	.7421	1.41738							1	.604**	.180	-.146
										(1)	((.4469))	((.3359))
8. Identification with Workplace organization	.5198	1.56890								1	-.002	-.078
											((.0517))	((.1597))
9. Extent of Beneficial Behaviors	2.37	1.597									1	-.023
												((.073))
10. Extent of Harmful Behaviors	.31	.709										1

Note: ** r < .01, * r < .05

Post hoc statistical power estimation in the parentheses: ( ), n = 77; (( ),) n = 71

Research Question 3

Research Question 3 inquired about the extent to which temporary workers identified with their THS agencies, immediate work groups, jobs and workplace organizations.

- RQ 3: To what extent do temporary workers identify with their temporary work agencies, their immediate work groups, their jobs and their workplace organizations?

Table 5 shows the statistics of temporary workers' identification with the four targets. The range was 6.00, the minimum was -3.00, and the maximum was 3.00. The mean scores of identification with the identification targets were -.0754 for THS agency (n = 84, SD = 1.4408), .5714 for immediate work group (n = 84, SD = 1.4677), .7421 for job (n = 83, SD = 1.417), and .5198 for workplace organization (n = 84, SD = 1.5689). The respondents reported positive identification with their immediate work group, job, and workplace organization, but they reported slightly negative identification with their

Table 5

Identification

Identification Targets	n	Mean		SD
THS agency	84	-.0754		1.4408
Immediate Work Group	84	.5714		1.4677
Job	84	.7421		1.41738
Workplace Organization	84	.5198		1.5689
Mauchly's Sphericity	df	Mauchly's W		p
	5	.803		.003
Greenhouse-Geisser	df	F	p	Power
	2.629	10.809	.000	.998

THS agency.

A repeated-measures ANOVA was calculated to compare the levels of identification with the four targets. A Mauchly's test of sphericity indicated the null hypothesis of homogeneity of covariance was rejected ($W = .803$, $df = 5$, $p = .003$). Accordingly, a Greenhouse-Geisser test was used, and it showed the difference as significant ($F = 10.809$, $df = 2.629$, $p = .000$). Pairwise comparisons indicated that identification with THS agency differed significantly from all other targets, but no other pairs showed significance. These temporary workers identify less with their agencies than with their work groups, jobs and workplace organizations.

Hypothesis 2

The following hypotheses were developed to investigate the relationships between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice, stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers and their identification with their immediate work group, job and workplace organization.

- H2: Perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers are significantly correlated with identification.
- H2a: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2b: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2c: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived

interactional justice by supervisor and identification with their workplace organization.

- H2d: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their workplace organization.
- H2e: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by supervisor and identification with their job.
- H2f: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by supervisor and identification with their job.
- H2g: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2h: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by coworkers and identification with their immediate work group.
- H2i: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers and identification with their workplace organization.
- H2j: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by coworkers and identification with their workplace organization.
- H2k: There is a positive correlation between temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers and identification with their job.

- H2l: There is a negative correlation between temporary workers' perceived stigmatization by coworkers and identification with their job.

Pearson Correlations were used to investigate the relationships between all the variables in Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e, 2f, 2g, 2h, 2i, 2j, 2k, and 2l. See Table 4 for the results.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by supervisor was significantly positively correlated with identification with their immediate work group (n = 78, r = .345, p = .001). Therefore, Hypothesis 2a was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by supervisor was significantly negatively correlated with identification with their immediate work group (n = 81, r = -.219, p = .025). Therefore, Hypothesis 2b was supported.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by supervisor was significantly positively correlated with identification with their workplace organization (n = 78, r = .563, p = .000). Therefore, Hypothesis 2c was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by supervisor was significantly negatively correlated with identification with their workplace organization (n = 81, r = -.348, p = .001). Therefore, Hypothesis 2d was supported.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by supervisor was significantly positively correlated with identification with their job (n = 78, r = .420, p = .000). Therefore, Hypothesis 2e was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by supervisor was not significantly negatively correlated with identification with their job (n = 81, r = -.132, p = .120). Therefore, Hypothesis 2f was not supported.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by coworkers was significantly positively correlated with identification with their immediate work group (n = 75, r = .406, p = .000). Therefore, Hypothesis 2g was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by coworkers was not significantly negatively correlated with identification with their immediate work group (n = 74, r = -.189, p = .053). Therefore, Hypothesis 2h was not supported.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by coworkers was significantly positively correlated with identification with their workplace organization (n = 75, r = .511, p = .000). Therefore, Hypothesis 2i was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by coworkers was significantly negatively correlated with identification with their workplace organization (n = 74, r = -.215, p = .033). Therefore, Hypothesis 2j was supported.

The respondents' perceived interactional justice by coworkers was significantly positively correlated with identification with their job (n = 76, r = .272, p = .009). Therefore, Hypothesis 2k was supported.

The respondents' perceived stigmatization by coworkers was not significantly correlated with identification with their workplace organization (n = 74, r = -.121, p = .152). Therefore, Hypothesis 2l was not supported.

In sum, temporary workers' perceived interactional justice, both by their supervisors and coworkers, was positively correlated with identification with their immediate work group, their workplace organization, and with their jobs. Their perceived stigmatization by their supervisors was negatively correlated with identification with their immediate work group and workplace organization, but it was

not significantly correlated with identification with their jobs. Their perceived stigmatization by their coworkers was negatively correlated with identification with their workplace organization, but there was not a significant correlation between their perceived stigmatization by coworkers and identification with their immediate work group and jobs.

Research Questions 4a and 4b

Research Questions 4a and 4b inquired about what kinds of positive and negative events the temporary workers experienced in their workplaces.

- RQ4a: What kinds of positive experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?
- RQ4b: What kinds of negative experiences in their workplace do temporary workers report?

Positive Experiences

Fifty-one individuals reported positive experiences at the workplace. Some respondents reported more than one experience, and thus a total of 75 experiences were reported. In the inductive analysis of temporary workers' positive experiences, five major themes emerged: positive points regarding the job and its practice, receiving recognition/positive feedback, positive socialization, good administrative practices, and employment after original term. These themes are listed according to their frequency, so that the "Positive points regarding job and its practice" was the most frequently reported theme.

Positive Points Regarding the Job and Its Practice

A total of 26 experiences were categorized under this theme. In this category, for example, the respondents' experiences such as feeling accomplishment, having the opportunity to improve skills, enjoying challenging jobs, receiving rewards for performance, enjoying good teamwork, and appreciating opportunities to discuss with supervisors, were reported.

The response of a male cashier, for example, fits the subtheme of accomplishment. His response was as follows:

> Last temp workplace experience was with [name of a retail company] and how we had to upsell customers our membership card. Made it easy to tell customer about product and is free to sign up. I got the second most membership out of all the temp workers. Good experience.

His excitement for his successful performance is obvious in this story.

A male CAD operator described his positive experience of receiving rewards as follows:

> I have received a raise in pay, commendations and promotions as a result of my willingness to work hard, go the extra mile and sacrifice for my employer as needed to give them customer satisfaction. I was very grateful to them for their recognition and redoubled my efforts to perform even better in the future.

Describing his rewards, he emphasizes his own hard work, sacrifice, and efforts. When his contributions were rewarded, he felt very satisfied.

Receiving Recognition/Positive Feedback

This theme addresses instances when the respondents were given positive feedback by their supervisors or coworkers about their performance. Positive feedback always boosts people's self-esteem and helps establish healthy relationships between individuals both at work and in private life.

Twenty one (21) experiences were found in this category. The respondents reported that they received recognition and or positive feedback from their supervisors, coworkers, and the clients of the workplace.

For example, a female office administrator said, "I feel that my supervisor is quick to point out very good things. We have a meeting at the beginning of every shift, and he pointed out my strengths and how good I was doing. I was appreciative." A female technical writer said:

> After a couple of months, my boss encouraged me to look for ways to improve the company's development processes, broadening my scope of work and treating me as a respected consultant. It was a huge boost to my morale to know that my boss respected my skills and experience.

This response shows that when supervisors recognized the skills of and provided positive feedback to temporary workers, these workers became more determined to contribute to the workplace.

Temporary workers appreciate acknowledgment by coworkers, too. For instance, a male machine operator reported:

> My position calls for trouble shooting ability. The perminate [sic.] worker was trying to correct a problem and was having difficulty. I pointed out what I observed to be the problem. The perminate [sic.] worker smiled and said "yep that's the problem." He made the necessary correction, and we continued our day (this was on my first day on the job, and did not know the working of the job, this gained me a lot of creditability in the field I am working).

In this example, the worker felt that his credibility increased due to the recognition of his coworker. Moreover, it is apparent that his feeling of self-worth at the job improved. Acknowledgment of skills encourages individuals to feel valued.

An example of receiving positive feedback by customers is this report by a female receptionist:

> One day when I was really busy with the phones and the credit card machine wouldn't work unless no one is on the phones. I had many people waiting to pay and two people on hold. I was really frustrated and one of the customers just told me I was doing a good job. It make [sic.] me feel confident and I finished the day fine.

A customer's positive endorsement of the respondent's work seemed to have helped her calm down and, thus, made her work go smoothly.

In sum, supervisors, coworkers, and clients, by positively endorsing individuals' performance at work, can help improve temporary workers' self-esteem, and thus, help them contribute more to the smooth operation of the job.

Positive Socialization

Positive socialization indicates the quality of interaction and socialization that the respondents experienced during their work.

Nineteen experiences were found in this category. They included being with courtesy and respect, enjoying a good atmosphere in the workplace, being included in social activities, and meeting new people.

Respondents appreciated being treated with respect. For example, a female receptionist reported, "It was a very rainy morning as we were entering the office. My supervisor opened the door for me and allowed me to enter first. I expressed gratitude." A female office administrator noted, "I loved the last temp job I had, they were so kind to me. I think they kept me there longer then [sic.] they had planned because they knew I was unemployed and needed the work." This respondent appreciates the fact that her workplace people treated her nicely and that the workplace accommodated her needs.

The temporary workers perceived kindness when they were treated with courtesy. The fact that they presented stories about small acts of kindness as their positive

experience may indicate that temporary workers are often not treated with the same courtesy that the permanent employees receive. Moreover, they perceive kindness when they are treated courteously.

Another case by a female customer service person was interesting in the sense that the respect she received by workplace people was conditional. She reported, "I think when they ask me questions about myself and seem surprised that I have a Masters level degree and seem to treat me with more respect when I tell them that." She received good treatment only because she had a good education, which was not expected among most temporary workers. This report also indicates that temporary workers are often presupposed as less capable, or "know-nothing," by permanent employees (Maliszewski, 1996).

The following stories address the feeling of inclusion in social activities and in the workplace. A male office administrator explained, "When I first arrived at the current position I was welcomed by everyone. Everyone that I was coming and went out of their way to introduce themselves and were very friendly. It made me feel immediately involved and a member of the group." A male telephone operator said, "They let me know about a lunch for all in department. Out of their way to do it." The statement by the telephone operator is based on the expectation that, since temporary workers are different, they cannot expect membership to social events that regular workers have.

Good Administrative Practices

"Good administrative practices" refers to the administrative practices perceived by temporary workers as creating an efficient and accommodating work place. This major theme includes cases when procedural practice for employment went smoothly and

when temporary workers' needs were met. There were six cases that belonged to this category.

The cases found in this theme included understanding/accommodating personal needs, experiencing efficient hiring and dispatching procedures, and being given a physically nice environment.

A male hospital worker reported, "I had some personal issues pop up and needed some time off and the [sic.] were very understanding and accommodating. I responded with relief and gratitude." Unexpected events occur for temporary workers as well as they do for anyone else. When an urgent and important need occurs, it is reassuring if the workplace flexibly accommodates. Another example is the story of a female banquet server/custodian. She reported, "One manager let everyone take food home with them." Generally, food service providers do not allow their employees to take food home. Being allowed to take food that is otherwise thrown away can help low-wage workers.

Another male programmer also said, "I was given a very nice office, and the schedule that I requested. I was happy in the work until the 6 months was up." In this case, the worker is provided with an environment as well as a schedule accommodated his personal needs.

Employment After Original Term

This major theme includes experiences when temporary workers' workplaces offered a permanent position or when temporary workers were invited to work another temporary term.

Three individuals reported such experiences as their "positive experience." Two respondents reported they were offered regular positions. One of them accepted the offer,

and the other did not indicate if she accepted or not. Another respondent desired a permanent position but she could not get it. However, she was called to return during the next season. She wrote:

> In all honesty, being a temp who dearly wants a permanent place, I tend to space out any experiences in the temp jobs. I was a seasonal employee of a tax preparation company recently and had a fabulous experience every day I was there until co-worker jealousies ruined it. I have however been asked back for next season in a more authoritative role.

Her story tells us that many obstacles of employment occur in the social dimension. Yet, being invited back to perform tasks of higher authority gives positive meaning to temporary workers.

To summarize, there were five major categories of positive experiences: positive points regarding job and its practice, receiving recognition/positive feedback, positive socialization, good administrative practice, and employment after original term. Many of the experiences involved both practical aspects of work itself and social aspects of work life.

Negative Experiences

There were 51 responses for the open-ended question about negative experiences. Some responses included more than one experience. A total of 72 experiences were analyzed. As I analyzed the contents, seven major themes emerged: Stigmatization/discrimination/hate (n = 17), inadequate information (n = 11), disrespect for contract/legal issues (n = 10), reprimands/accusations/verbal abuse/name calling (n = 9), relational issues with individuals other than permanent employees (n = 9), relational issues with permanent employees (n = 8), and workplace system and nature of the job (n = 8).

In order to capture the whole pictures of the respondents' negative experiences, their reports on quantitative variables measured in the research including their perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by their supervisors and coworkers, identification with the four work-related targets, and engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors are also presented in this section. What kind of organizational justice, if not interactional, was involved was also analyzed. I, the researcher, and the second coder, coded and chose the most prominent justice component for each story together, but these are not always the exclusive components.

Stigmatization

Some temporary workers experienced negative treatment due to negative stereotypical views of certain groups of people. Seventeen experiences belonged to this category. There were two subgroups for the stigmatization/discrimination/hate category: stigmatization for the status as temporary workers and stigmatization for other attributes.

Some respondents reported that temporary workers were stigmatized as "know-nothings." For example, a female credential specialist said, "Just being treated like I was useless and unwanted." This statement did not clearly state who treated her as useless and unwanted or why she was treated that way. She reported she perceived this experience as very intense and that her attitude toward her workplace was strongly negatively affected. In addition, she reported very low perceived interactional justice by her supervisor and coworkers as well as high perceived stigmatization by them. The scores of her identification with all four targets (THS agency, immediate work group, job and workplace organization) were very low. She also reported that she engaged in neither beneficial behaviors nor harmful behaviors. She appears to be detached from her

workplace society. Interactional justice was the major issue in this case as it led to feelings of stigmatization.

Another example of the perception of temporary workers as "know-nothing" was presented by a male warehouse worker. He wrote:

> When I was treated like i [sic.] was stupid only because i [sic.] am a temporary worker and the employer didnt [sic.] take the time to read my resume and skills and ask me questions based on my work experience."

Because his resume was not carefully read, he inferred that the employer thought of him as a "know-nothing." Although he reported this experience negatively influenced his attitude toward the workplace, he slightly positively identified with his work group. In addition, he claimed that he often engaged in beneficial behaviors. This may be because he perceived slightly positive interactional justice by his coworkers. This worker differentiated his work group from his organization. In this case, the ones who treated him with prejudice by disregarding his resume were people in his workplace. However, some temporary workers seem to be receiving such treatments by their THS agencies. One such case was reported by a male delivery worker:

> I dont [sic.] work for temp agencies anymore period! they dont [sic.] come close to meeting my needs in the work place ever, not now or in the past! my [sic.] resume was and is totally disregarded as is my experience and education!

According to these examples, employers often want temporary workers to perform rigidly defined tasks only and do not want them to contribute beyond the job description. This can be dehumanizing because many temporary workers believe that they can contribute more. The two stories presented here obviously involve "stigmatization" as the main concern of justice. Similar to the first case, the respondent of the second case reported that he often engaged in beneficial behaviors although he perceived being stigmatized.

His score of perceived interactional justice by his coworkers is slightly positive, too. The qualities of relationship with workplace coworkers may be one of the important cues that influence temporary workers' behaviors at workplace.

Another respondent used the term, "disposable," which is another previously-documented (e.g., Casey and Alach, 2004; Castro and Dickerson, 1993; Feldman et al., 1994) theme of prejudice against temporary workers. A female office administrator said, "I was hired on as a 'temporary' employee. Everyone was biased and felt as though 'temps' weren't really employees because they weren't permanent and disposable [sic.]." Despite the fact that she felt stigmatized, she reported positive identification with her THS agency, immediate work group, and workplace organization. She also reported positive interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers and slightly negative stigmatization by them. These scores may reflect her other experiences including her positive experience that she could perform her job successfully. The impact of her positive experience may have surpassed that of her negative experiences.

Dehumanization of temporary workers functions, in other terms, to commodify them. The following cases suggest that some temporary workers feel that they are treated as even less valuable than commodities. A male CAD operator said:

> A coworker talked down to me and treated me like dirt with negative language and severe put downs. The work environment was very hostile. Temporary status was to him, all the excuse he needed to abuse me by calling me names and poking me with his cane to rub it in that he was better than me and he really meant it. I felt helpless to stop it. I am sure he stabbed in the back with supervision as well.

In his case, a permanent employee used him to vent his frustration or to boost his ego by dehumanizing the temporary worker. Although this experience was very intense and it strongly negatively affected his attitude, both his perception of interactional justice by

supervisors and coworkers are slightly positive. He also slightly positively identifies with his immediate work group, job, and workplace organization. Comparable to the previous case, he reported that he was recognized for his hard work and he received a raise. This case also shows that positive experiences sometimes diminish the impact of negative experiences.

Individuals who experienced stigmatizing acts due to their status as temporary workers often reported multiple elements of stigmatization. For instance, a female office administrator described her experience as follows:

> In most temp assignments you are treated as less than nothing. They know you will be there for a short time so why get to know you. Supervisors use us to do meanial [sic.] or mundane jobs – nothing that allows us to really shine. I hate temp jobs but am in a situation where learning by the seat of my pants for 35 years does not count. Plus there is a bit age discrimination for seniors who have to work to survive.

This case shows that stigmatization occurred not only on the basis of worker's temporary status but also on the basis of age and other attributes. Those who treat temporary workers this way may have tendencies to treat other minority groups with discrimination. Similar to the other respondents who reported being stigmatized by workplace individuals, this respondent reported that she often engaged in beneficial behaviors, although she did not identify with her immediate work group. Her tenure as a temporary worker is relatively long (155 weeks). During this time she may have learned how to accept her situation.

Some workers were dismayed at witnessing mistreatment of others. A male mechanic stated:

> I notice a lot of abuse of authority: sexual, bad and offencive [sic.] language, unjustified firing of employees (temporary agency avoid to [sic.] get involve for the fear of losing contract), female employees knows [sic.] that in order to get call

> to work need to pretend they have some kind of sexual interest towards supervisors (specific name), some supervisor brutally racist (specific name).

The temporary worker who reported this story also mentioned that a temporary help agency did not interfere in its client's otherwise illegal harassment because it did not want to lose the client. The female temporary workers in his workplace had to tolerate the stigmatizing treatment by the workplace supervisors in order to get to work there. His disapproval of his supervisors' stigmatization of others is reflected in the low scores of his perceived interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers. However, the questionnaire scores show that he himself was not typically stigmatized. Also, he had positive identification with his job. He also engaged in beneficial behaviors often and never in harmful behaviors.

Overall, negative stereotypical views of temporary workers and stigmatizing treatment that are found in the past literature still exist. There are permanent employees who dehumanize temporary workers or treat them as commodities that they do not need to handle with care. The temporary workers who reported such experiences often reported low perceived interactional justice and high stigmatization. In addition, they tended to report negative identification with work-related identification targets. Some of the respondents reported positive identification, but the scores were low. It is not healthy for any worker to receive stigmatizing treatment by other workers. It is especially so because individuals spend a significant amount of time at the workplace and communication that typically discourages their self-esteem takes place in the work environment.

Despite the fact that stigmatization is demeaning, most respondents who claimed to have been stigmatized or have witnessed stigmatization frequently engaged in

beneficial behaviors. Also, it may be influenced by other factors such as how they find positive aspects in their work life. It may be necessary to examine their positive experiences along with their negative ones in order to understand their work life more holistically.

Inadequate Information

Inadequate information occurs in cases when temporary workers are not provided with information essential for fulfillment of their duties. In some cases, they are given the wrong information about tasks, or are not provided with the help necessary to complete their tasks regardless of the fact that the temporary workers asked for help. In other cases, supervisors and coworkers simply miscommunicate important information. The cases introduced in this theme mainly involve interactional justice. Eleven experiences belonged to this theme. A female office administrator said:

> Instructions for may [sic.] jobs being asked to perform were not explained ver [sic.] well. Asking a question to answer a question that you did not know the answer to was not helpful. Took what could gleane [sic.] from non answer and again tried to figure it out on own.

This respondent was not provided with information about her tasks. Her frustration and confusion are apparent in the above statement. However, she reported that this experience somewhat positively influenced her attitude toward work. Her experience helped her improve skills to figure out how to solve problems by herself and how to perform her job. As a result, she showed positive identification with her job.

A male salesperson stated:

> I have an issue with attention to detail. My boss told me to go clean the bathrooms, but he said (go wipe down the sinks and stuff…) so I went in wiped down the sinks and cleaned the mirrors and left. I got in trouble for the bathrooms not being cleaned. It was a miss [sic.] understanding on how in-depth he wanted me to clean.

In this case, the temporary worker and his boss did not communicate well enough about the task, and the temporary worker admitted both he and his boss were responsible for the subsequent trouble. Interestingly, he has high identification levels regarding his immediate work group, job, and workplace organization. He also claims high perceived interactional justice by coworkers. They may have discussed their miscommunication and resolved the issue. The high scores of his identification with the three targets and perceived interactional justice by coworker may also derive from his positive experience at the work place. He reported that he received positive "high-fives" from his coworkers for his performance (high sales) and that this positive experience was very intense and affected his attitude toward his work.

Another instance was reported by a male customer service person:

> No one told me temp people were not working on a holiday, all the temp people showed up to a locked door. I didnt repond [sic.] one way or the other. I needed the hours so I just kept quiet.

In this case, the temporary worker seems to have received pay for the day. In other words, he took advantage of the fact that he had not been told about the holiday. Consequently, the workplace had to pay for empty service due to the lack of communication. The fact that he was not informed of the holiday further suggests that the temporary workers in his workplace were not socially included in the workplace very well. In the meantime, the temporary workers in his workplace did not ask if they were going to work on the holiday, either. Lack of communication may have been normal in this workplace. However, his experience turned out as his advantage (earning money without working), and the respondent reported positive perceived interactional justice by supervisor and neutral interactional justice by coworkers. His perceived stigmatization

by supervisor and coworkers was negative. In addition, he moderately identified with his immediate work group and job, and he highly identified with his workplace organization. He also often engaged in beneficial behaviors but never in harmful behaviors.

Two individuals reported that they were not given help when they asked for it. One of them said, "when [sic.] you ask for help and get brushed aside." The other person noted, "Not getting the help I needed and the distance between me and everyone else." They both reported negative identification with their THS agencies, immediate work groups and jobs. These experiences demonstrate that not being provided with adequate help may make temporary workers feel disconnected to and unimportant within their work groups. In addition, both of them reported that they engaged in harmful behaviors occasionally. The lack of identification, thus, may have been a source of harmful behaviors.

In sum, the temporary workers had negative experiences due to the lack of information and miscommunication. This caused problems for both the workplace and the temporary workers. Inadequate information exchange between permanent employees and temporary workers can result in a variety of negative consequences such as poor job performance, distrust, and alienation from the workplace. Alienation can further prevent temporary workers from identifying with their work and work groups, which may discourage them from engaging in beneficial behaviors. However, if the participating party can discuss the event caused by inadequate information and agree with what happened, the negative impact of the event may be alleviated. It is important to enhance the amount and quality of information among all temporary workers in order to achieve better performance.

Disrespect for Contract/Legal Issues

This theme appeared in cases when temporary workers' workplace or their THS agencies did not abide by their labor contract as well as when the workplace personnel did not take into consideration the needs they agreed to consider. Similarly, the theme manifested when temporary workers' requests for improvements to their labor conditions were denied and when a verbal promise was made but not kept.

Ten respondents' experiences belonged to this theme. One type of incident that involved disrespect for the contract was about scheduling. For example, one respondent said, "My supervisor did not respect my availability hours and scheduled me whenever it was convenient for them. I worked the shifts still, but I was extremely unhappy about it." Another temporary worker reported that her work hours were increased against her will. They both reported positive interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers and negative stigmatization from them. However, they both reported negative identification levels with their immediate work groups, jobs, and workplace organizations. One reported slightly positive identification with her THS agency. Flexible scheduling is often a catchphrase for recruiting temporary workers. These respondents may have thought that they had been deceived regarding their work schedule when they were hired.

Another type of disrespect for contract/legal issues involved termination of their jobs. One of the main foci of this study is interactional justice, which is one of the three major concepts of organizational justice. However, the next examples show that procedural justice is also important. Two respondents claimed that their contracts were terminated early, and as a result, they could not earn the money that they expected. For example, a male office administrator stated:

> After being hired "for at least 3 months," I was told after 3 weeks that my job was ending and it would be posted for a permanent person since that would be "cheaper" for the department. A temporary worker does not receive any benefits (vacation, holidays, insurance, etc) so to be told that a permanent person would be cheaper was a complete lie. Betrayed, abused, taken advantage of, disrespected.

Besides the cases in which work contracts were terminated early, 3 individuals reported that they were fired without proper reasons or procedures. For example, a female industrial worker said, "my [sic.] lead at the work place didn't like the fact i [sic.] was talking to her boyfriend and they let me go. Which to me was wrong cause i [sic.] was doing my job." All the scores of her perceived justice by supervisor and coworkers, stigmatization, and identification with THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization were around zero, or neutral. She reported that she often engaged in beneficial behaviors and never in harmful behaviors.

Since one of the advantages of working as a temporary worker is that contracts usually specify work time and are respected, many people who have major engagements outside their work use the temporary employment system. When these expectations of a flexible work schedule and clearly defined contract, are disrupted, and temporary workers experience distress. Generally, work contracts represent the needs of the employing organizations rather than the workplace individuals' needs. The fact that many of the respondents' degrees of identification with their work-related entities were low or negative and that their perceived interactional justice was slightly positive can suggest that the temporary workers lost confidence in the employer organizations through these negative experiences with individuals.

Reprimands/Accusations/Verbal Abuse/Name Calling

This theme was assigned to cases when temporary workers received negative feedback for their performance or when they were blamed by their supervisors or coworkers for unfavorable outcomes. All the stories involved interactional justice.

There were nine experiences reported. The following quotations provide two examples of temporary workers who were blamed for negative outcomes.

> One of the ad reps didn't specify which ad I needed to put in the next day's newspaper issue and I put in the incorrect one so we lost money. He blamed me, though it was more his fault… I didn't like how he used his higher position to place blame on me.

> I was not told about an important deadline for submitting payroll information to the government from the company where I was temping. I was verbally abused for two days for failing to comply with the deadline I had not been informed of. My temporary employer called me stupid and worthless. I responded by saying I had not been informed of the deadline. My supervisor said she had certainly told me. I did not apologize. I was not fired, but the feelings in the office were not good for about two weeks.

In these cases, interactional justice problems resulted from a lack of communication between temporary workers and their supervisors. On that account, they involve the second theme of negative experiences, inadequate information. However, they are conspicuous because they involve blame for the consequence of the lack of communication. These cases depict another type of negative interactional justice, or reprimand/blame. Low quality interactional justice can cause serious problems at work, and it can create an unpleasant atmosphere for everyone involved. The first respondent reported relatively high levels of identification with the four targets, and low negative perceived stigmatization. She reported that she engaged in beneficial behaviors sometimes and in harmful behaviors once. In her case, a positive experience (she was chosen for extra work) may have influenced her identification with the work-related

entities and job.

The second respondent reported high levels of perceived stigmatization by her supervisor and coworkers, and she did not answer the questions regarding identification. She might be unclear about the extent to which she feels identified with her work-related identification targets. She claimed that she often engaged in beneficial behaviors and in harmful behaviors occasionally.

One of the common aspects found in the two examples is that they reported that they were not informed of information that was crucial to successful execution of job performance while their supervisors claimed that they had given such information. The incongruence in their claims may have created distrust in their supervisors in the respondents' minds. The distrust may have promoted their emotional distance from their workplace entities and that may have led to their engagement in harmful behaviors.

Another case was reported by a male machine operator:

> The Guyson [name of the machine he was operating] broke down, my supervisor was indisposed in meeting. So I went to maintainence [sic.] to find/get help. I do not like standing around, it's not me. I went to the plant machinist on our shift. He fixed it for me, but I was told He [sic.] didn't directly support production & he didn't appreciate me waiting for him to finish the repair of the part. I apologized to the machinist & my supervisor told me He [sic.] didn't want me to talk to him again.

The reprimand received by this temporary worker does not sound very reasonable, but obviously, he frustrated the machinist. The supervisor did not help solve the interpersonal tension between the temporary worker and the machinist. His score for perceived interactional justice by coworkers was negative, and that of perceived stigmatization by coworkers showed he felt stigmatized by his coworker(s). Similar to the other cases introduced previously, positive experiences may have influenced his

scores in identification and engagement in beneficial behaviors. The fact that he reported he felt identified with his immediate work group and that he engaged in beneficial behaviors often but never in harmful behaviors may reflect his positive experience in which he was transferred to a group under a new and better boss.

Some other responses reveal that sometimes the temporary workers are given reprimands without specific reasons. A male administrator stated, "After discussing my work with someone outside the control of the supervisor, I was told I was unprofessional because I did not put this department in a good light." A female receptionist reported:

> I was having a bad day. My co-worker was giving me several negative directions, comments, and suggestions. I couldn't seem to do anything right. It was very discouraging.

To summarize, it is always unpleasant to be reprimanded for or accused of poor job performances. This is especially so when one believes he or she has done the right job. As some of the examples show, the reprimands do not always come from direct supervisors but from coworkers. This may demonstrate that temporary workers are regarded lower by permanent coworkers.

Relational Issues with Individuals Other Than Workplace

Permanent Employees

This is a theme that involves social and interactional experiences with individuals who are not permanent supervisors or coworkers in their workplaces. Such individuals include other temporary workers, clients, strangers, and the personnel of their THS agencies. This theme typically involves interactional justice.

There were nine reports that fit this theme. The clients of the workplaces were the source of negative experiences for 2 respondents. A female receptionist who had a

misunderstanding between a client about an appointment time, stated, "Some woman made an appointment and showed up late and claimed that I told her a half hour later than I wrote down. I knew I was right but I didn't argue. I told my boss and he helped me take care of it." This case, fortunately, seems to have ended peacefully because her supervisor helped her. This course of events was typically characterized by miscommunication between her and her client and the positive interactional skills of her and her supervisor. Although her experience with the client was negative, the fact that the incident was resolved may have contributed to her overall workplace experiences. Accordingly, she reported high perceived interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers, and also positively identified with her THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization.

Another case was reported by a female office administrator.

> I was suppose [sic.] to be signing out temporary parking passes and a gentleman was very impatient with me because of how long I was taking to give him his pass. He told me i [sic.] needed to hurry up or he was going to be late for his class and that everything would be my fault. I politely told him that i [sic.] was new to the job and that i was trying my best to help him out. I finally got the pass to him with enough time for him to get to his class.

It is frustrating for a worker to be told by a customer to work faster when he or she is doing his or her best, much more so when told that his or her slow performance will cause trouble. However, the respondents' appropriate reaction and the resulted success in issuing a pass in time solved the situation. She reports that this was an intense experience, but it did not change her attitude toward work. She reports high scores on perceived interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers, and negative scores for perceived stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers. In addition, she positively identifies with all the four identification targets of this study.

Similar to the previous example, the fact that the negative experience with her client was resolved may have contributed to her positive identification with her work-related targets, especially identification with her job. Moreover, conflicts with outsiders can sometimes solidify the ties of insiders. Individuals can feel increased support from cohorts when they face threats from outside. If the respondents felt their clients' claims were threatening their positions, they may have appreciated the support from their supervisor and coworkers more positively than usual; hence, their perceived interactional justice and identification become high and perceived stigmatization become low.

In two cases, problems involved other temporary workers. One of them said, "Other workers were competing for the job after the temp period was over. Many other employees were rude and cutthroat in terms of our competition." Rivalry between temporary workers may become ferocious when they are competing for a permanent position at the workplace. This respondent reported positive interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers, but, at the same time, he reported being stigmatized by supervisors and coworkers. He also reported low levels of identification with his THS agency, immediate work group, and workplace organization. It can be interpreted that in the workplace where temporary workers are struggling to win a permanent position those who are in permanent positions may look like winners compared with those who are seeking permanent positions. This could lead temporary workers to perceive stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers. At the same time, this respondent did not feel identification with work-related entities. Competition over permanent positions may have emphasized that there was a wall between the entities to which permanent employees belonged, i.e., his immediate work group and workplace entity, and himself.

In addition, since the respondent expressed his dislike about his temporary coworkers' competitive attitudes, it is reasonable that he did not identify with his THS agency to which the temporary coworkers also belong.

In the other case quoted below, a temporary worker found a fellow temporary worker engaging in a problematic activity:

> We found out that a temporary worker under my purview was looking at pornography during his job. I had 120 temporary employees I was supervising at the time and the blame fell on me. While I did not lose my contract, I was further stigmatized.

This person was supervising 120 other temporary workers, which may have been too many for him to pay attention to in detail. A highly unethical act, such as was evident in this case, could potentially reinforce the permanent employees' stigmatization of temporary workers as "low quality" or "incapable" workers. Accordingly, the respondent reported high scores of perceived stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers, negative scores of interactional justice, and negative identification with THS agency, immediate work group, and workplace organization. However, he reported he often engaged in beneficial behaviors and never engaged in harmful behaviors. He also reported that he strongly identified with his job. His strong identification with his job may have made him engage in beneficial behaviors despite the fact he did not perceive being treated nicely at work.

Another unexpected incident was reported by a female food service person. She said, "We had someone rob us and cuss at us and it was very scary but helped us to be prepared in other situation like that." This otherwise life threatening case suggests that temporary workers may need crisis training if their job involves cash exchange in a publicly open area. The respondent reported that this incident was significantly intense,

but it positively affected her attitude toward work. Her perceived interactional justice by supervisors and coworkers were high, so was her identification with all the targets. It is presumable that a negative event brought an opportunity to communicate to cope with it, which may have increased her sense of being a part of the work-related entities and role.

Temporary workers experience conflicts that are neither the fault of the workplace, nor the permanent employees. The cases reported here represent a few such cases, but they prompt temporary workers to prepare for unexpected conflicts that arise in the workplace. Most of the respondents in this theme expressed positive, and sometimes very high, levels of identification with their immediate work groups, jobs, and workplace organizations. As previously noted, trouble with outsiders sometimes encourages cohesiveness of insiders, and in these cases, the temporary workers may have been the "insiders."

Relational Issues with Permanent Employees

These experiences were evident in cases when temporary workers reported discomfort in their interactions with permanent employees. This theme includes a wide range of experiences, from direct interactions between temporary and permanent employees to the indirect influences of permanent employees' attitudes toward work and life in general. Like the relational issues with individuals other than workplace permanent employees, relational issues with individuals other than workplace permanent employees, the justice components involved in the stories are mostly interactional justice.

Eight responses matched this theme. One person said, "One place I work they were so unfriendly. The person I was helping was very rude. I was glad when that job ended." Another response, previously introduced in the section of "Inadequate

Information" noted, "Not getting the help I needed and the distance between me and everyone else." Temporary workers do not appreciate unfriendly interactions and the feeling of being socially excluded. Both respondents reported negative identification with their THS agencies, immediate work groups, and jobs. They also reported that they never engaged in beneficial behaviors and 1 of them reported she engaged in harmful behaviors occasionally. An unfriendly environment obviously contributed to distance between the temporary workers and others. The results of the problematic relationship with permanent employees did not seem to have encouraged the temporary workers' willingness to contribute to the workplace.

The following two cases were reported by temporary workers who had to work closely with individuals who constantly irritated them. One such case was reported by a male office administrator:

> One of my co-workers is somewhat difficult to work with at times. She used to have my job about three years ago so there are MANY times she does my job for me which has thrown me off, especially when I greet someone who comes to ask a question. Most of the time I'll be somewhat passive in my response and just "I could have done that," or "I can do that next time"… but she has the kind of personality that likes to have her hands ON EVERYTHING! Which is fine, but when she butts in and gives information I was in the middle of giving it is frustrating, because I feel like I come off somewhat incompetent to that other person. I've had discussion with my supervisor and her about it and sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't, but I've learned to just not let it bother me and accept her for who she is.

The permanent employee, in this case, may not have had bad intentions, but she obviously did not have good interpersonal skills. He reported positive perceived interactional justice by supervisor, but neutral interactional justice by coworkers. However, he did not report stigmatization by either supervisor or coworkers. He positively identified with his immediate work group, job, and workplace organization as

well as engaging often in beneficial behaviors and no harmful behavior. In this case, an issue with a single permanent coworker and workplace did not affect his overall experience and attitudes toward his work.

Another story was told by a female hospital worker.

> On one assignment, a couple of months in, a nurse was hired in the department. She was very condescending and treated me as if were her personal servant. She had this attitude towards everyone, but since I had to work most closely with her, it affected me the most. I endured it for the most part, since I did not want our patients negatively affected by our discord, but finally, I had to express my dislike of her treatment of me. For a time, it looked as if I was going to be kept on there permanently. In the end, another decision was made. I was glad. I did not want to work with that woman anymore.

The temporary worker who reported this case showed her professionalism by trying not to let her conflict with the nurse affect the patients in the hospital. However, working with a condescending coworker can be psychologically unhealthy. Being constantly treated in a demeaning way can hurt one's self esteem. Similar to the previous case, her negative experience is characterized by coworkers' poor interactional skills. She reported higher perceived interactional justice by supervisors, and zero perceived interactional justice by coworkers. She also reported negative scores for perceived stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers. Her identification with work-related entities and job were slightly positive. Unfortunately, negative treatment by just one coworker led her to feel happy about leaving the workplace. Interactional justice can play a significant part in individuals' satisfaction with work.

Two other cases involved permanent employees who brought their negative work attitudes to the workplace. A female research assistant said, "Supervisor brought personal problems into the workplace that created a distracting environment for everyone around her." However, her perceived interactional justice by both supervisor and

coworkers were positive, and she slightly positively identified with her THS agency, immediate work group, with job, and relatively highly identified with her workplace organization. She reported her experience of "communicating as a team and solving problems in the workplace" as her positive experience. This positive experience may have surpassed her negative experience, and thus, her overall interactional experiences and identification levels were positive.

As was shown in the previous research assistant's case, good experiences working as a team seems to influence the temporary workers' quality of work experiences. A female office administrator observed:

> People within my team can sometimes do the least amount of work as possible and refuses to make decision based on what will work or what is right; but they will make them based on what they want. There was a time when the team had a great idea and plan and the team lead completely disagreed with the plan without any valid reasoning. It made the plan hard to explain and even hard to implement.

Similar to the previous case, the permanent employees in this case were unprofessional. The temporary workers did not appreciate their negative attitudes toward work because they discouraged other employees' morale. This case was categorized into the concern of procedural justice, rather than interactional justice. From the scores of interactional justice she reported (very high for both supervisors and coworkers), it is interpretable that her social experience in her work seems positive, and, she highly identifies with her THS agency, moderately identifies with immediate work group, and very highly identifies with her job and with her workplace organization. She also claims that she has often engaged in beneficial behaviors and never engaged in harmful behaviors. Obviously, she had high morale for work, and she cared for the group's performance.

To summarize, negative relational experiences of the temporary workers with

their permanent employees included a perceived distance between them, unpleasant interaction between them, and the permanent employees' unprofessional attitudes toward work. The temporary workers did not like the gulf between them and their workplace permanent employees, which seemed to discourage their tendencies to engage in beneficial behaviors. On the other hand, high perceived interactional justice and low stigmatization seemed to allow other temporary workers to hold high morale. In such cases, the temporary workers became frustrated when their work groups did not function productively.

Workplace System and Nature of the Job

This theme addresses the practical issues that are often beyond the control of the supervisors in their immediate work groups. It includes subthemes such as the case when temporary workers did not have access to materials essential to perform their duties and the cases when the demands of the work itself did not match the temporary workers' capabilities.

There were eight cases in this major theme. For example, a male office administrator stated, "The only real negative experience was trying to use their computer system, without proper credentials it was never fun to try and find someone to be able to do a simple task for me by using there [sic.] login info." In his case, distributive justice would be the issue. Distributive justice involves the "equity" as social norm; it concerns if the distributions of rewards and resources are matched to contributions, meaning if the distributions of rewards and resources are fair and just (Ambrose & Arnaud, 2005, p. 61). Not being given an essential tool for work (in this case, access to computer) can be construed as lacking in fair allocation of resource. However, the lack of access to the

computer can involve symbolic meanings as well as issue of distribution of resource. Temporary workers sometimes experience the assumptions that they are "outsiders" to the workplace organization even though they work for it when they are not provided with what permanent employees are provided.

Temporary workers were sometimes dissatisfied with the nature of the tasks and jobs they were asked to perform. For instance, a female office administrator said:

> The overall negative experience has been that, in interviewing for and the lead up to accepting my position, it was built up to be more than just basic assistant work. In the 6 or 7 weeks since I began my role, it has become very clear that all I do is very basic assistant work, and there is no room or allowance for growth beyond that or taking on more responsibility.

In her case, the temporary worker found her job to be not demanding enough for her, and her response implies that she was hoping for opportunities to grow her skills. Since she was given wrong information at the time of interviewing, this case involves interactional justice, probably not by the supervisor at work but by the THS agency personnel. She reported positive interactional justice and negative stigmatization by supervisors, and positive interactional justice and slightly positive stigmatization by coworkers. However, her identification with THS agency was negative as was her identification with her job.

On the other hand, some temporary workers perceived that their tasks were too demanding. For example, an undercover evaluator of bus drivers explained that his job involved a unique difficulty:

> Well, for my position I have to make it a point that nothing of note happens with me involved while I'm working. Part of my job is to remain anonymous to the shuttle drivers and I have to make efforts to make sure that I don't stand out. Holding this position is incumbent on my remaining anonymous. Even in spite of my efforts, it is possible that one of the drivers may figure out that I'm an evaluator and I'll lose the position. I guess I don't particularly like working with that hanging over my head.

His case is unique in the sense that he had to disguise the fact that he was on duty evaluating bus drivers by pretending to be a passenger, which required acting skills. In his response to another section of the questionnaire, he revealed that he did not have a coworker. His case did not involve interactional experiences, but rather, he had to pretend that he was not engaging in a task. His scores for interactional justice were positive by supervisor and neutral by coworkers. He did not perceive being stigmatized at work, but his score for identification with his immediate work group was very low, and those for job and workplace organization were both negative. Pretending to be not working may create detachment from work-related entities and roles.

Another particular situation was reported by a male software engineer:

> During spring break, my supervisor went out of town for a week as did both senior engineering and other support engineers. I was left by myself and had to handle a very needy and important client from England. I was very very stressed out for the entire week and had to rely on engineers in other departments for assistance. I tried my best to help the client in need and by the time everyone came back things had settled down but I was still shaken and burned out a little.

Although it seems that dealing with the difficult client was too much for him when he had no support from his coworkers and supervisors, the software engineer could successfully cover permanent employees' absences. This incident may be just a mishap for him caused by the work complication. His scores for perceived interactional justice were very high for both by supervisors and by coworkers. He also reported negative stigmatization by supervisors and coworkers. The high identification scores for immediate work group, job, and workplace organization also shows that he generally has positive social work environment.

In brief, there are challenges to temporary workers that arise due to the complexity of the workplace system as well as the unique nature of the jobs. The

respondents clearly separated the issues regarding the workplace system/nature of the job from relational issues, which is demonstrated by their positive perceived interactional justice and negative perceived stigmatization.

Research Question 5

Research Question 5 explored how temporary workers reacted to their negative experiences at work.

- RQ5: What types of actions do temporary workers report in response to negative experiences?

Among 53 responses to Section 4.4 of the questionnaire, 15 individuals specified the ways they reacted to negative experiences. The behaviors they reported were of three types: 1. Active responses, 2. Passive responses, and 3. No response.

Active Responses

Active responses address the cases when temporary workers took action to improve the situations and to prevent similar problems from occurring in the future. It includes both physical actions and psychological actions.

Active responses were further categorized into two subgroups: interpersonal and noninterpersonal responses. Interpersonal responses included discussions with the person involved or with supervisors. This subgroup also included apologies.

Six people assertively discussed the problem with the person of issue, and 3 of them reported that their discussions helped resolve the situations in which they were involved. The other 3, however, observed that discussions either did not help or made their situations worse. For example, a female office administrator shared a story about failing to submit an important report to their client by deadline and being reprimanded by

her supervisor:

> … I responded by saying I had not been informed of the deadline. My supervisor said she had certainly told me. I did not apologize. I was not fired, but the feelings in the office were not good for about two weeks.

This is a case introduced in the "reprimand/accuse/verbal abuse/name calling" theme of temporary workers' negative experiences. She tried to restore her reputation by asserting that the failure was not her fault, but her explanation was rejected by her supervisor.

Two individuals reported that they were reprimanded for their performances, and they apologized. In both cases, the apologies were not accepted.

These results suggest that active responses such as discussing issues and apologizing do not always improve the situation. This may discourage temporary workers from engaging in their work and workgroups both emotionally and physically.

Noninterpersonal behaviors included working harder and using the experience as an opportunity for improvement. For instance, 1 person who was robbed by a stranger at the workplace, previously introduced in the "Relational Issues with Individuals Other than Permanent Employees" subsection, reported that "it was very scary but helped us to be prepared in other situation like that." These attitudinal changes are constructive because they prepare for or avoid the repetition of similar issues in the future.

Passive Responses

A passive response reported here is a reaction to their negative experiences by adversely changing one's attitude towards the work, work group, or workplace. These negative changes usually occur after an incident has transpired at the workplace.

One respondent reported that his workplace's policy discouraged promoting temporary workers to permanent employment. He felt his skills and expertise were not

appreciated in his workplace. Then, he "responded by losing a considerable amount of respect for the institution." In his case, the fact that he changed his view of the workplace may not harm the workplace immediately, but if he addresses his experiences at the workplace and his negative opinion about the workplace is told to others, the workplace may lose its reputation.

No Response

No-response refers to cases when temporary workers made an active decision not to take any actions to their negative experiences.

Three individuals chose not to do anything to resolve their issues. Two of the cases involved individuals who had already tried to actively discuss their interpersonal and procedural issues. Such measures did not work in the past, and they subsequently decided not to deal with their current issues. The other case in which the temporary worker did not respond involved a woman who worked as a custodian in the catering industry. She gave this story:

> I had one manager throw dough at me and hit me in the head because I could not keep up with the machine. I cried the rest of the night but couldn't leave because I would lose my hours for the day and I had two kids to support.

This case suggests that temporary workers are in a disadvantageous situation in which they cannot confront the permanent employees who treat them in a humiliating way; they can easily be fired, and they cannot afford that result.

Research Question 6

Research Question 6 investigated the extent to which the respondents engaged in behaviors beneficial to the workplace beyond the tasks specified in their work contracts and behaviors harmful to the work groups or the workplace organizations.

- RQ6: Do temporary workers engage in beneficial or harmful behaviors beyond their contract?

First, the extent to which the respondents engaged in beneficial and harmful behaviors was measured. The questionnaire included five levels of engagement: never (score = 0), once (score = 1), occasionally (score = 2), sometimes (score = 3), and often (score = 4). The scores ranged from zero (never) to 4 (often). The mean score of the beneficial behaviors was 2.37 and the standard deviation was 1.5697 with the minimum of 0 to maximum of 4. The mean score of harmful behaviors was .31 and the standard deviation was .709 with the minimum of 0 and maximum of 3. See Table 6 for the results.

A paired-samples t-test was computed to investigate if there was a significant difference between the respondents' engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors at the workplace. The result shows that the temporary workers engaged in beneficial behaviors significantly more than harmful behaviors (Mean Difference = 2.086, $t = 9.968$, $df = 69$, $p = .000$).

Next, in order to use the data of their engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors as categorical variables, the data were converted into whether or not they

Table 6

Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors in the Workplace Beyond Contract

	Beneficial Behaviors			Harmful Behaviors		
	n	Mean	SD	n	Mean	SD
	71	2.37	1.597	71	.31	.709
	Mean Difference	df	SD	*t*	*p*	Power
Paired-Samples *t*-Test	2.086	69	1.751	9.968	.000	1.000

engaged in such behaviors. Those who chose "never" to each question (beneficial and harmful behaviors) were categorized into the "no" group and those who chose "once," "occasionally," "sometimes," and "often" were categorized into the "yes" group. Among the 71 responses, 54 individuals (76.1%) reported they have engaged in beneficial behaviors at least once and 17 reported they have not (23.9%). On the other hand, 13 individuals (18.3%) reported they have engaged in harmful behaviors at least once and 58 (81.7%) reported they have never engaged in harmful behaviors. Importantly, the respondents tended to engage in beneficial behaviors, but not in harmful behaviors.

To summarize, the majority of the temporary workers reported that they have engaged in behaviors beneficial to the workplace. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents reported that they have not engaged in harmful behaviors. In addition, the extent to which the respondents engaged in beneficial behaviors was significantly higher than the extent to which they engaged in harmful behaviors.

Research Question 7

Research Question7 explored what kinds of beneficial and harmful behaviors temporary workers engaged in.

- RQ7: What kinds of beneficial or harmful behaviors do temporary workers engage in?

Beneficial Behaviors

There were 47 beneficial behaviors by temporary workers that went beyond the behavior mandated by their contract. The behaviors beneficial to their workplace were further categorized into three types: 1. Voluntarily performing jobs beyond duty or exceeding expected performance level, 2. Working extended time or shifts, and 3.

Helping social aspects of the workplace. Overall, temporary workers consider it helpful to flexibly perform work beyond their duty according to the situation and to contribute their skills to the workplace even if doing so is not required by their contracts.

A second coder was hired and she was instructed to categorize the stories reported into one of the three categories described above. Interccoder reliability was computed using Cohen's kappa, and it was .905. When the second coder and I disagreed, we discussed the response until we agreed.

Voluntarily Performing Jobs Beyond Duty or Exceeding Expected Performance Level

This type of beneficial behavior included cases when temporary workers performed extra work that was not asked of them by workplace supervisors or coworkers. This theme had two subthemes: a) Voluntarily performing tasks beyond duty and b) Exceeding expected performance quality. A total of 22 responses were categorized into this theme.

Here are several examples of cases when the respondents voluntarily performed tasks beyond their duty. A female customer service worker stated, "I always finish my work and if I finish early I ask if there is anything else the staff needs help with since I get paid hourly I don't like to just sit around and do nothing." When their assignments were finished before their work day ended, temporary workers seemed to want to contribute to their workplace by doing anything even if it was not required by their work contract. Another person mentioned, "While the regular workers went to their meeting I straightened up the desk and organized the papers and such." In her case, she voluntarily helped her workgroup feel good by preparing their desks, a task beyond her duty.

Temporary workers sometimes flexibly step up and assume coworkers' tasks especially when the team is busy. For example, a female hospital worker, whose assignment was archiving charts and inputting information onto a spreadsheet, explained:

> On one especially busy day, I took over answering phones for the department. One call was from a patient who phoned to complain 99 [sic.] about nothing specific, but just wanted someone to talk to. I stayed on the phone with her for as long as I could, until she felt better. Another call was from the grieving spouse of a patient who had just died. He didn't know how to obtain his wife's death certificate and was just overwhelmed. I calmed him down while I tracked down the certificate (it had been misrouted) and rush it to him. I was glad and others in the department were, too, glad that I was able to "step up" this way.

In her case, helping customers by answering questions was not her duty, but she did so voluntarily. She was content with the fact that she could step up herself.

Another instance was reported by a female telephone operator. She noted:

> All of the bilingual agents were given a thick book filled with scripts for the calls. There were many translation errors printed in the book and therefore, caused a problem of misunderstanding between the callers when the agents had to read verbatim from the script. I made a list of all of the errors I found that needed to be fixed and submitted it to my supervisor. Several weeks later, management distributed a new set of scripts with corrected grammar and spelling.

Although she did not mention if the workplace supervisor verbally expressed appreciation for her contribution, the fact that the company distributed the improved version of the scripts shows that the temporary workers' voluntary contribution was accepted.

Some temporary workers reported performing with maximum efforts and efficiency as a beneficial behavior that went beyond the contract. A female programmer wrote, "Applied my best possible effort all day long. Where I found existing shoddy work of procedures, I tried to improve the situation." A male salesperson gave this story:

> I try and go above and beyond so i [sic.] can maintain a position with a company. One day i [sic.] told my boss im [sic.] going to out sell him today and winner buys

> snacks and a drink for the next shift. He agreed and I out sold him that day. He Bought [sic.] me a drink and told me I did a great job. It was fun but I went above and beyond.

He outperformed his supervisor, and this result was welcomed by the supervisor. This experience increased his morale even more.

In brief, many temporary workers have aspirations to improve their skills and reassure their employers that they are capable of doing more advanced tasks and want to contribute more to their workplace.

Working Extended Time/Shift

Temporary workers are sometimes asked to work overtime or to take another person's shift when the person could not work. Although temporary workers' work schedules are usually respected, they were sometimes asked to work extra hours when an unexpected situation that required schedule adjustment occurred. The difference between this category and the previous one (voluntarily performing jobs beyond duty or exceeding expected performance level) is that, in this category, the temporary workers' beneficial behaviors were not necessarily voluntary.

Twelve individuals reported that they worked extra hours, or took a shift that another person missed. For example, a male hospital administrative worker said, "My actual assignment another temp had to drop off the job short notice and I picked up her shifts for the team I am working with, even though I didn't really want to." A female project analyst reported, "I worked additional hours to get a [sic.] important project completed. I did not charge the company for overtime." These cases show that the temporary workers sacrificed their time for their work groups.

The fact that 12 respondents mentioned their working overtime as their

"beneficial behaviors beyond their duty" demonstrates that temporary workers are willing to work beyond requirements.

Helping Social Aspects of the Workplace

Temporary workers sometimes contribute by socially helping their workplace environment be a pleasant place.

Three individuals claimed that they engaged in acts that may encourage employees' better socialization at the workplace. For example, a female academic assistant said, "I make treats and bring them into the office :)." In another case, a female administrative assistant stepped into an event that would otherwise detract from her work group's social atmosphere:

> Someone gave me and other team member [sic.] negative feedback about someone else. Instead of being a part of that negative feedback, I explained that everyone is entitled to their own opinion, but it is not fair to try to persuade others to feel that same way for no reason.

This respondent persuaded her coworker that it was important to respect other people's opinions. She contributed socially to her workplace by enhancing respect between workers.

To summarize, there were three main types of beneficial behaviors the respondents reported: voluntarily performing jobs beyond duty or exceeding expected performance level, working extended time or shift, and helping social aspects of the workplace.

Harmful Behaviors

Harmful behaviors of temporary workers are their acts that are counterproductive to the workplace.

In the questionnaire, one question asked respondents if they have ever committed harmful behaviors at the workplace. Only 13 individuals admitted to harmful behavior, and 58 responded "never" to the question. Among the 13 individuals who admitted to doing something harmful at the workplace, 10 respondents shared stories about what they did.

In some cases, temporary workers failed in performance, which was unintentional. However, such failure negatively influenced the workplace. For instance, a male software engineer stated that he negatively affected his workplace's system:

> I accidently created a rogue server before I left work and brought down the company's internal network for the entire night. The next morning I was reprimanded.

He, unfortunately, caused a problem in the workplace and was reprimanded.

On the other hand, the following report by a male hospital worker contains two types of harm: one, unintentional and the other, intentional:

> I wouldn't call any of my behaviors "harmful" but as a Temp I have put some other priorities, like school, before the temp job and either come in later or left early, usually with the supervisors expressed permission. If you don't like the job you have it is hard to quit early because you don't want to be harmful/tick off the temp pool so you may languish at a job until the position is completed: work performance suffers as a result.

First, the fact that the respondent prioritized his other commitments sacrificed his commitment to his work, but it was unintentional because he had permission by his supervisor. Second, he suggested if one does not like his or her job he or she may not work hard. The workplace, then, cannot make the most of their temporary workers for the money they are paying. Temporary workers' negative attitude toward work, which involves intentionality, may affect the productivity of the workplace.

There were respondents who admitted to doing harm intentionally. Three

temporary workers mentioned social or interpersonal behaviors such as gossiping, complaining, or talking too much as harmful behaviors. One person just said, "complain," and another person stated, "Gossip. Complaining. Not presenting a positive attitude in a staff meetings. Minor non-cooperation. Resentful attitude on occasion." The third story was told by a male salesperson:

> I tend to have a mouth and talk to [sic.] much. I told some stories and swore a bit and a girl found it offensive so I learned my lesson. Im [sic.] still just a really open person.

All three responses reported above are social behaviors. Their behaviors may have resulted from their negative social experiences at their workplaces.

Other temporary workers reported sabotaging work as harmful workplace behavior. One person "did not try as hard as I have in other jobs because this one was just temporary." This report relates to the comment by the male hospital worker previously presented, in which he noted, "languish at a job until the position is completed." Such low quality attitudes toward work may reinforce permanent employees' negative stereotypic view of temporary workers as "less capable" than permanent employees.

Another stated, "I stayed away from my desk longer than I should have." Staying away from work more than allowed in the contract such as in this case is not appreciated by the workplace because temporary work contracts are usually fairly rigid. Likewise, a male hotel worker said that he "worked in other caind [sic.] of work, that i [sic.] was doing." He was working, but not the work he was supposed to be doing. He might have been in trouble if his workplace was very rigid about their employees' activities.

Finally, a female call center associate explained her confrontation with her

workplace:

> I quit by abandoning employment. When the company filed a complaint with the agency and motions were made for disciplinary action, I filed an annotated counter-complaint detailing incidents of sexual and racial harassment at the company. I was apologized to, not disciplined.

This case obviously was a response to unlawful and unethical treatment in the workplace. Although she reported this incident as her "harmful behavior" to the workplace, it was justifiable for her to quit the job before her contract matured.

Here, I introduce statements by 3 individuals who have "never" engaged in harmful behaviors at the workplace:

> I can't think of doing something stupid to be harmful to my workplace. I'm a Temp worker I know if I screw up I could be gone tomorrow (a 30-year-old male office assistant).

> i [sic.] can not afford to do those things in this economy you cant either thank you [sic.]. (a 58-year-old male office assistant).

These temporary workers' statements present their concerns that any behaviors harmful to workplace could lead to losing jobs and income.

The last one is a strong statement by a female administrative assistant that she never engaged in harmful behaviors because she likes her work.

> I love my job and refuse to allow my negative attitude or anyone else to interfere with my action in and our [sic.] of the workplace (a female administrative assistant).

The levels of her identification with THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization were all very high. She certainly feels she is a part of these identification targets and she is willing to protect them from harm.

In sum, some of the temporary workers reported that they engaged in behaviors that were not productive to their workplaces. Those acts may or may not have been

intentional. Intentional acts often involved the social dimension. Some temporary workers admitted to sabotaging their duties. At the same time, they are aware of the risks that they may lose their job and income if they engage in negative behaviors.

Research Question 8

Research Question 8 investigated how their engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors were related to their perceived IPJ and IFJ, perceived stigmatization, and identification with their THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization.

- RQ 8: Do perceived interactional justice, stigmatization, and identification with the THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization predict beneficial and harmful behaviors at the workplace?

First, perceived interactional justice and stigmatization were examined in order to discover whether they predicted the respondents' identification levels with each identification target. Stepwise linear regression analyses were computed, and the results are displayed in Table 7. The results are also visually depicted in Figure 2.

The results show that, for the extent of identification with THS agency, interactional justice by supervisor entered in step 1 of the regression analysis ($n = 70$, $df = 68$, $Adj.R^2 = .216$, $F = 20.044$, $p = .000$), and no other predicting variables entered in step 2. Therefore, the extent to which the respondents identified with THS agencies was predicted by interactional justice by supervisors. Similarly, identification with job ($n = 70$, $df = 68$, $Adj.R^2 = .182$, $F = 32.614$, $p = .000$) and workplace organization ($n = 70$, $df = 68$, $Adj.R^2 = .314$, $F = 32.61$, $p = .000$) were predicted by the level of perceived interactional justice by supervisor. Identification with immediate work group was, on the

Table 7

Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification

Step	Independent Variables	N	df1	df2	Adj.R^2	F	p	Power
Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification with THS Agencies								
1	Interactional Justice by Supervisor	70	1	68	.216	20.044	.000	.9567
Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification with Immediate Work Goups								
1	Interactional Justice by Coworkers	70	1	68	.134	11.632	.001	.7715
Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification with Job								
1	Interactional Justice by Supervisor	70	1	68	.182	16.374	.000	.9075
Stepwise Regression for Predicting Temporary Workers' Identification with Workplace organization								
1	Interactional Justice by Supervisors	70	1	68	.314	32.614	.000	.9978

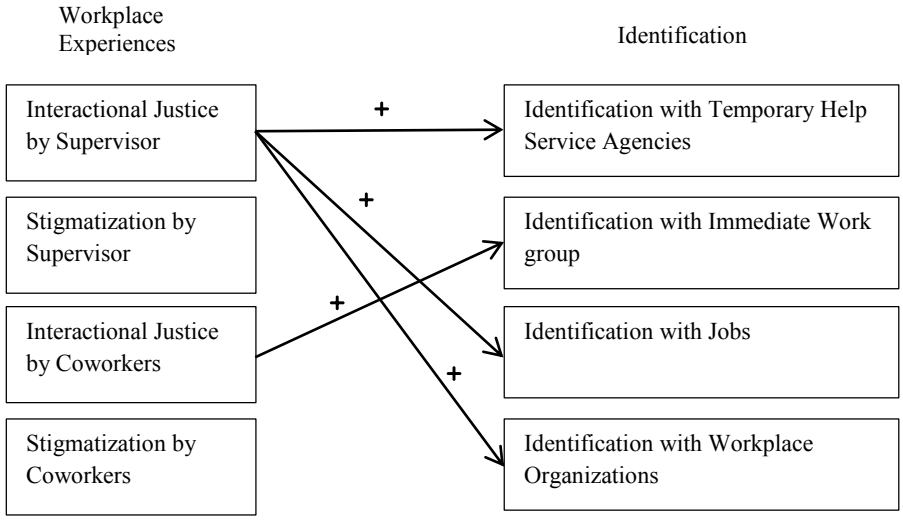


Figure 2. Predictions of Identification by Perceived Interactional Justice and Stigmatization

other hand, predicted by the level of perceived interactional justice by coworkers ($n = 70$, $df = 68$, $Adj.R^2 = .134$, $p = .001$). In each case, no additional predictors were entered in step 2 of the regression analyses.

Next, stepwise discriminant analyses were conducted to discover which (sets of) variables would predict whether or not the respondents engaged in beneficial behaviors beyond their duty and in harmful behaviors. The results are shown in Table 8.

The results show that the level of the respondents' identification with immediate work group predicted whether or not they engaged in beneficial behaviors ($n = 59$, $df = 57$, *Wilks' Lambda* = .888, $p = .010$) and whether or not they engaged in harmful behaviors ($n = 60$, $df = 58$, *Wilk's Lambda* = .933, $p = .046$). The higher the respondents' identification with their immediate work group, the more likely they engaged in beneficial behaviors and the lower the respondents' identification with their immediate work group, the more likely they engaged in harmful behaviors. No other variables,

Table 8

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis: Predicting Engagement in Beneficial Behaviors

Steps	Independent Variables	Wilks' Lambda	df1	df2	df3	Exact F			
						F	df1	df2	Sig.
1	Identification with Immediate Work group	.888	1	1	57	7.162	1	57	.010

Stepwise Discriminant Analysis: Predicting Harmful Behaviors

Steps	Independent Variables	Wilks' Lambda	df1	df2	df3	Exact F			
						F	df1	df2	Sig.
1	Identification with Immediate Work group	.933	1	1	58	4.166	1	58	.046

including perceived interactional justice by supervisor, interactional justice by coworkers, stigmatization by supervisor, stigmatization by coworkers, identification with THS agency, identification with job, and identification with workplace organization predicted whether or not they engaged in beneficial and harmful behaviors. The diagram of the variables is depicted in Figure 3.

In addition to examining whether these variables predicted whether or not the respondents engaged in beneficial behaviors and harmful behaviors, stepwise regression analyses were conducted to investigate if these variables predicted the extent to which they engaged in beneficial and harmful behaviors. The results are shown in Table 9 and Figure 4.

According to the stepwise regression analyses, the extent to which the respondents engaged in beneficial behaviors was not predicted by any of the independent variables, whereas the extent to which they engaged in harmful behaviors was predicted by the level of the respondents' identification with immediate work group (n = 59,

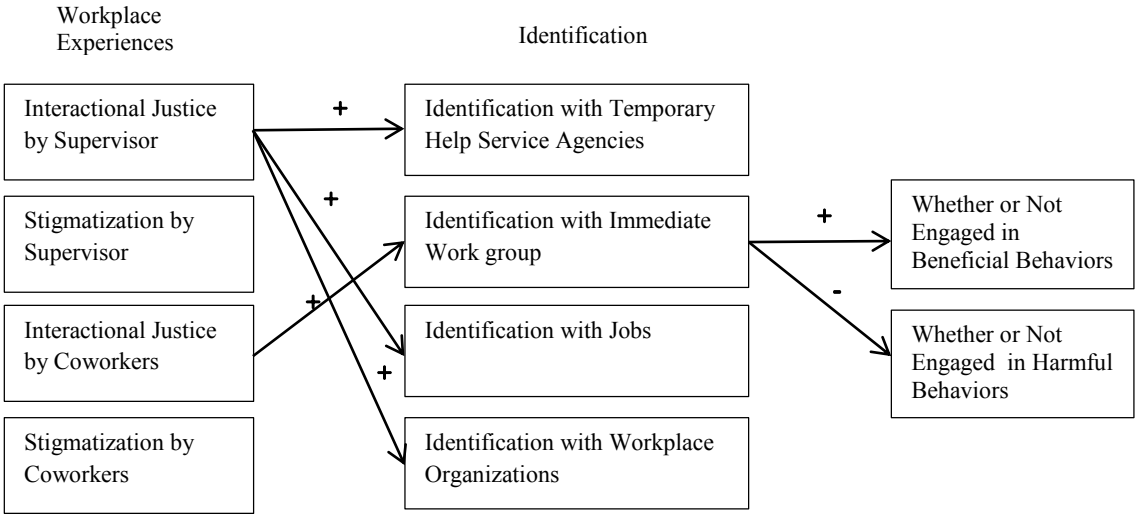


Figure 3. Predictions of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors

Table 9

Stepwise Regression for Predicting The Extent of Engagement in Harmful Behaviors

Step	Independent Variables	N	df1	df2	Adj.R^2	F	p	Power
1	Identification with Immediate Work group	59	1	57	.059	4.613	.036	.2179

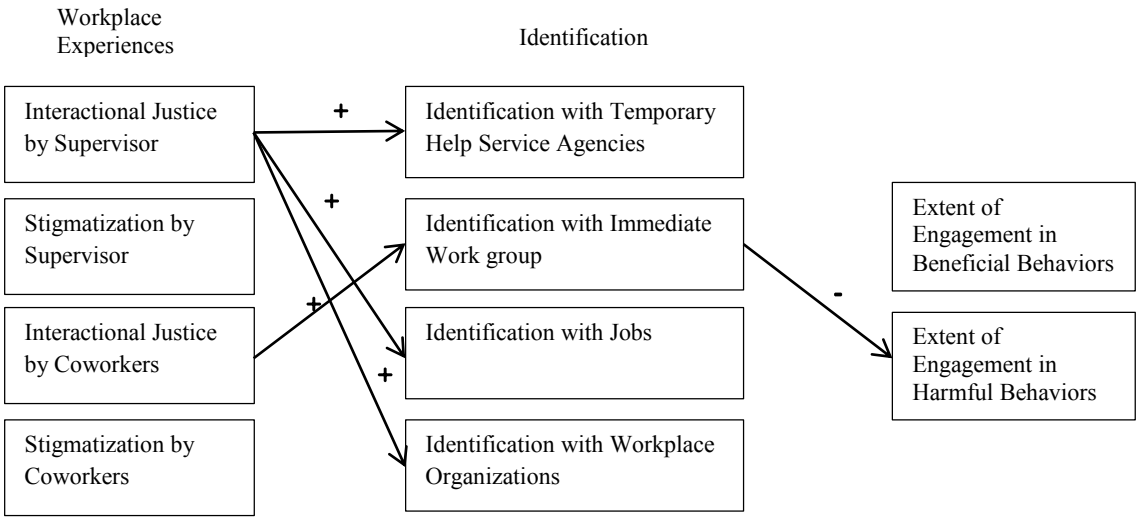


Figure 4. Predictions of Extents of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors

df = 57, $AdjR^2$ = .059, *f* = 4.613, *p* = .036).

In sum, the degree to which the respondents identified with their immediate work groups predicted whether or not the temporary workers engaged in beneficial behaviors and harmful behaviors. Moreover, the variable predicted the extent to which they engaged in harmful behaviors, whereas it did not predict the extent to which they engaged in beneficial behaviors.

Post Hoc Analyses

The correlation between the respondents' ages, tenures at the current workplace (the previous workplace if they are not currently working as temporary workers), and the

levels of identification with their THS agency, immediate work group, job, and their workplace organization were calculated using the Pearson Correlation.

There were no significant relationships between the variables, except for the one between temporary workers' ages and their identification with the workplace organization: the younger the respondents, the higher their identification with the workplace organization ($n = 69$, $r = -.288$, $p = .016$).

The length of time the respondents worked did not have any significant correlations with the degrees of identification with their THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization.

The relationship between the respondents' gender and the variables noted above were investigated using independent samples t-tests. The results show that there were no significant relationship between the temporary workers' gender and the variables.

In conclusion, the majority of the temporary workers reported that they perceived positive interactional justice by their workplace supervisors and coworkers. In addition, the majority of them did not perceive stigmatization in the workplace. They reported they identified with their immediate work groups, workplace organizations, and their jobs. There were a variety of stories reported about their positive and negative experiences in the workplace. The temporary workers engaged in beneficial behaviors much more than they engaged in harmful behaviors at work. Further, their engagement in beneficial behavior was positively correlated with level of identification with their immediate work group.

In the next chapter, I will discuss these results and address implications of the findings.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study explored temporary workers' social relationships with workplace permanent employees, specifically, their perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by their supervisors and coworkers, their identification with their THS agencies, immediate work groups, jobs, and workplace organizations, as well as their engagement in behaviors beneficial and harmful for the workplace. Further, it identified positive and negative experiences at the workplace and their subsequent behaviors.

Summary of the Findings

The descriptive statistics show that the majority of the respondents perceived interactional justice by their workplace supervisor and coworkers. Moreover, the majority of the temporary workers did not perceive being stigmatized by their workplace supervisor and coworkers. The temporary workers identified with their work groups, workplace organizations, and their jobs. However, they slightly negatively identified with their THS agencies. The majority of the temporary workers reported that they engaged in beneficial behaviors beyond the duty mandated by their labor contracts, and the majority of them reported that they did not engage in behaviors that were potentially harmful for their workplaces.

The Pearson correlation analyses demonstrated that there are positive significant relationships between the temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by

supervisor and their identification with THS agency immediate work group, job, and workplace organization. Their perceived stigmatization by supervisor was negatively correlated with their identification with THS agency, immediate work group, and workplace organization. It was positively correlated with the extent to which they engaged in harmful behaviors. The temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers was positively significantly correlated with their identification with THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization. The results of the correlation analyses are depicted in Figure 5. The continuous lines demonstrate significant positive correlations and the dotted lines demonstrate significant negative correlations.

The regression indicated that the higher the level of the temporary workers' identification with their immediate work groups, the higher the probability of their engagement in beneficial behaviors, and the lower the level of their identification with

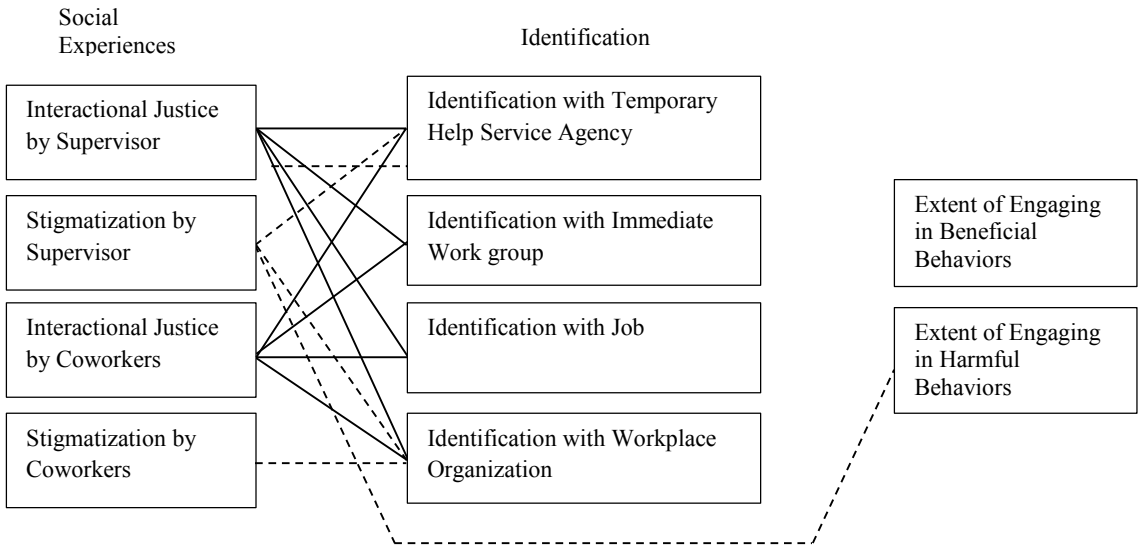


Figure 5. Correlations Between the Major Variables

immediate work groups, the higher the probability of their engagement in harmful behaviors. In addition, the temporary workers' perceived interactional justice by coworkers was the strongest predictor of their identification with immediate work group. The prediction among the variables is depicted in Figure 6.

In addition to the model describing temporary workers' workplace experiences and their behaviors, it is important to learn temporary workers' workplace experiences in detail, so that we better understand the relationships between justice, identification and both beneficial and harmful workplace behaviors. In order to better understand such dynamics, qualitative analyses were conducted using the grounded theory approach.

Particularly, the qualitative analyses included exploring temporary workers' positive and negative experiences, their responses to negative experiences, beneficial behaviors beyond the tasks mandated by their labor contracts and potentially harmful behaviors at the workplace.

Five major themes summarize the reported positive experiences: positive points regarding the job and its practice, which addresses the temporary workers'

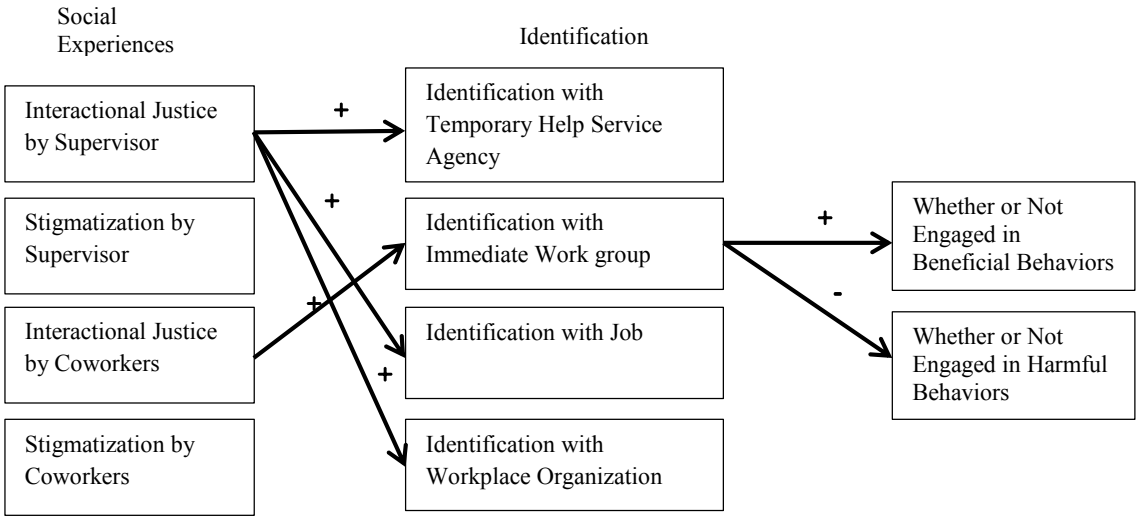


Figure 6. Predictions of Engagement in Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors

positive experiences related to work; receiving recognition/positive feedback, which includes temporary workers' experiences in which they receive positive feedback by their supervisor or coworkers about their performance; positive socialization, which involves social interaction and socialization at work; good administrative practices, which addresses the administrative practices which temporary workers find as creating an efficient and accommodating work place; and employment after original term, which involves cases when temporary workers are offered a permanent position at the workplace or invited to work another temporary term.

Temporary workers go through negative experiences as well. Seven themes characterize their negative experiences. First, stigmatization refers to cases when temporary workers receive unpleasant treatment by the permanent employees of their workplaces due to the negative stereotypical view of certain groups of people, including, but not limited to, negative treatment due to their status as temporary workers, sexism, and racism.

Second, inadequate information occurs when temporary workers do not receive information or help necessary for their work, or when they do not receive important information in a timely manner.

Third, disrespect for contract and legal issues occurs in cases when temporary workers' workplace or their THS agencies do not abide by their labor contract. In such cases, the workplace does not take into consideration the needs that it agreed to, or even deny or ignore temporary workers' request for improvement of their labor condition.

Fourth, reprimands, accusations, verbal abuse, and name calling refers to cases when temporary workers are given negative feedback about their performance or when

they are blamed for negative outcomes. The criticism comes from either direct communication (with supervisor or coworkers) or indirect negative feedback that takes the form of name calling.

Fifth, relational issues with individuals other than workplace permanent workers involve social experiences with individuals other than the permanent employees in their workplaces. Such individuals found in the research were other temporary workers, clients of the workplace, strangers, and the personnel of their temporary help service agencies.

Sixth, issues of relationship with permanent workers refer to cases when temporary workers experience problematic or unpleasant socialization with the permanent employees at the workplace.

Seventh, workplace system and nature of the job is evident in cases when temporary workers perceive practical issues that are beyond the control of their supervisor in their immediate work group. For example, this theme is applied to cases when the rigid organizational system of the workplace does not allow temporary workers to access materials essential for them to perform tasks. It is also assigned to cases when the assigned tasks did not match the skill levels of temporary workers.

Temporary workers reported that they took three types of actions. First, active responses address the actions in order to improve the situation and to prevent similar problems from occurring in the future. Second, negative responses are the actions to change attitudes toward the work, work groups, or the workplace is also found. Although I, the author, expected more serious negative responses, such as sabotaging work or damaging workplace properties, no respondent reported such serious negative actions.

Third, no response is when temporary workers decide not to respond to their negative experiences.

Findings also include the beneficial and harmful behaviors temporary workers report that they engage in. Temporary workers' beneficial behaviors fit into three main categories: voluntarily performing jobs beyond duty or exceeding the expected performance level, working extended hours or shifts, and helping social aspects of the workplace. Although the majority of temporary workers do not engage in harmful behaviors, 10 stories about harmful behaviors were told by the respondents in this study. The stories included both unintentional and intentional behaviors. Unintentional and harmful behaviors included failure in performance and working fewer hours than initial agreement with permission by the supervisor. Intentional harmful behaviors included gossiping, passive aggressive attitudes, and sabotaging.

Next, in the discussion section, the findings from quantitative inquiries and qualitative inquiries are examined.

Discussion of the Findings

Results of this study led to a model of temporary workers' workplace experiences and behaviors. I proceed with my discussion according to the model. See Figure 6 for the model. The left column of the model is the respondents' workplace experiences, specifically, their perceived interactional justice and stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers. The center column is their identification with THS agency, immediate work group, job, and workplace organization. The right column is the respondents' engagement in beneficial and harmful behaviors.

Interactional Justice

Although previous research focused largely on the negative interpersonal treatment by workplace individuals, which typically belongs to the "interactional justice" of the theory of organizational justice, (e.g. Boyce et al., 2007; Doerpinghaus & Turnley, 1994; Feldman & Smith, 1998; Gossett, 2001, 2002; Gottfried, 2003), the majority of temporary workers in this study reported positive interactional justice in the workplace both by supervisor and coworkers.

Conceptually, interactional justice involves both an emotional and instrumental aspect. Reflecting the results of qualitative inquiry of this study, the temporary workers' positive and negative experiences vary within the domain of interactional justice. For example, "receiving recognition/positive feedback" and "positive socialization" among the categories of their positive experiences and "reprimands/accusations/verbal abuse/name calling," "relational issues with workplace permanent employees" and "relational issues with individuals other than workplace permanent employees" mostly involve the emotional aspect of interactional justice, whereas "inadequate information" reflects the instrumental aspect.

Stigmatization

The majority of temporary workers did not perceive stigmatization by their workplace supervisor and permanent coworkers.

This result may reflect changes in societal attitudes toward temporary workers. As discussed in the literature review, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission issued guidelines specifying the rights of temporary and contract workers in 1997. According to the guidelines, "a temporary worker qualifies as an employee if his or her

work arrangement is controlled by either the staffing firm, the client or both" (Sparks, 1998). As qualified employees, temporary workers are eligible for equal employment opportunity. That is, in cases when temporary workers experience discrimination, their THS agencies have to take appropriate action (http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/conting.html).

As a result, THS agencies and client organizations have encountered a situation in which they are expected to treat temporary workers as employees, not "commodities." Changes in attitudes toward temporary workers, a result of changes in official treatment of temporary workers, may take time to permeate society. Researchers who studied temporary workers' experiences in the 1990s and 2000s may not yet have seen changes reflected in today's work society. As my research shows, these changes might be more palpable in recent years. It may have taken some time for the changes in societal attitude toward temporary workers to be reflected in THS and client organizations and be assumed by permanent employees in organizations.

At the same time, in the current economy, which is increasingly dependent on "flexible" employment, there is less certainty about the permanency of "permanent" positions than in previous decades. Just like temporary workers, permanent workers are often susceptible to losing their employment. In this sense, the status differences between temporary workers and permanent employees may not be as significant as before.

However, approximately one-third of the respondents reported they perceived being stigmatized in their workplaces. This proportion implies that the status of temporary workers still needs improvement. Although the way in which society regards temporary workers may be improving, there are still stereotypes about temporary workers.

One possible explanation for the fact stigmatization of temporary workers persistently still exists is that workplaces always involve hierarchical organization. For example, employees have different levels of decision-making rights in the organizations; from relatively trivial decisions to highly-complicated decisions that might influence the future of the organizations. Temporary workers often do not have power to make decisions that can highly impact the workplace organizations. Accordingly, most temporary workers can hardly escape the "low" positions that are more vulnerable to stigmatization.

Moreover, some individuals' needs for being superior may account for stigmatization of temporary workers. People sometimes compare themselves with others, find someone that they can regard below them, and, as a result, they feel their self-esteem is boosted. Such people often maintain and reinforce their superiority by treating others in demeaning ways. This is shown in textual reports such as "I notice a lot of abuse of authority: sexual, bad and offencive [sic.] language, unjustified firing of [temporary] employees," "when I was treated like I was stupid only because I am a temporary worker," and "A coworker talked down to me and treated me lik dirt with negative language and severe put down. Temporary status was to him, all the excuse he needed to abuse me by calling names…" These reports demonstrate that the perpetrators of stigmatization stand in higher positions and look down on temporary workers.

As Boyce et al. (2007) suggest, existence of stereotypes does not automatically become stigmatization unless there is an act of treatment "in a devalued manner because of possession of some key attribute" (p. 8). Stigmatization involves communicative presentation of stereotypes, which can be public or interpersonal. However, individuals who intentionally stigmatize others would be aware, to some extent, that stigmatizing acts

may be interpreted as discrimination by victims and onlookers, which could cause trouble in the perpetrator. Accordingly, stigmatization would often occur in the form of interpersonal communication. In this setting, the perpetrator would not be witnessed by third parties.

In addition, not being provided with an adequate amount of information can be regarded as a form of stigmatization because individuals can exert power over others by controlling information that is necessary for performing duties. Controlling information can be demonstrated with insufficient information, lack of timeliness or feedback, or refusal to listen. As discussed previously, some individuals who want to hold and exert power over others in order to maintain their ego may do so by limiting information necessary for others. The temporary workers in this research may have fallen victims to such needs of permanent employees, and attribute their experiences of lack of information to the perpetrators' stigmatization of them.

Identification

Individuals identify with "various targets and view organizational or other structures as influencing the identifications of members" (Scott et al., 1998, p. 305). Based on the theoretical work of Scott et al. (19987) on identification in the organization, four targets of identification in this research were set: temporary workers' THS agencies, immediate work groups, workplace organizations, and jobs. There are several implications to the results.

First, the most noticeable result about identification was that the respondents' mean identification levels with their immediate work groups, workplace organizations, and jobs were higher than zero, but that of identification with their THS agencies was less

than zero. Gossett (2007) argues that the reason why temporary workers hesitate with identifying with their THS agencies is that, since they are not "willing to embrace temping as a legitimate occupational identity," (p. 9).

This finding can also be explained with Bullis and Bach's (1991) argument about identification, which states "individuals do not develop relationships directly with organizations but rather through their interactions with members of relevant organizations" (p. 184). Once their placement in their clients' workplace is done, temporary workers are typically under clients' management during their work. They interact with their workplace employees but not with their THS agents when they are engaging their work. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that the respondents naturally developed identification with their workplace rather than with their THS agencies.

Second, the post hoc analysis revealed that there is no significant correlation between temporary workers' tenure at their workplaces and the levels of identification with any of the four targets. This demonstrates that the length of communicative experiences with the employees of their workplaces is not the crucial determinant of temporary workers' identification with their workplace-related identity targets. Instead, the quality of communication, such as the perceived interactional justice, and lack of stigmatization, are more influential in determining the extent of identification with the identification targets.

Third, temporary workers identified with their workplace organizations as well as with their immediate work groups. This is also interesting because, due to the transient nature of temporary employment, they are often hired at the local levels in the organizations, especially when the organizations are larger and more complicated in their

structures. Why then did the respondents not identify more with their immediate work groups than with their workplace organizations? Torka (2011) argued that temporary workers regard client organizations' supervisor and coworkers as well as their top managers as representatives of the workplace organizations (p. 1582). Applying the results of this study to Torka's (2011) argument, the respondents may have viewed the permanent employees as representatives of the workplace organization no matter what the employees' positions in the organizations were. Interactions with all levels of permanent employees may have cultivated the respondents' identification with the organizations.

Fourth, the respondents also identified themselves with their jobs. This may involve explanations different from those about their identification with their immediate workplaces and workplace organizations. Being identified with jobs means perceiving what they do is what they are. Those who are highly identified with jobs would be likely to devote themselves to their jobs because the jobs are part of themselves, which will lead to improved skills and higher performance. The mean level of identification with their jobs in this research was slightly higher than that of any other identification targets (though not significantly higher). Temporary workers may be negotiating their identifications between the workplaces and work roles. Since their employment relationships with their workplaces are indirect, they may rely more on their work roles to determine who they are. In addition, temporary workers may be consciously or unconsciously refraining from identifying too much with their work groups and workplace organizations. Suppose that their contracts were suddenly terminated by the workplace. If they were highly identified with their work groups and organizations,

being rejected by these identification targets would hurt their sense of self. However, even if their contract with a workplace is terminated, their skills remain. That is, they do not lose their identity as what they can do even if they lose the position. They can use the skills again if they are employed for jobs that require the skills. The respondents of the study may have been aware that they were more vulnerable to termination of the contract than permanent employees were, and therefore, emotionally protected themselves from being hurt too much by identifying with their jobs more than with their workplace entities.

Relationship between Temporary Workers' Perceived Interactional Justice, Stigmatization, and Identification

Both interactional justice by supervisor and by coworkers was correlated with all four identification targets. This demonstrates that the quality of social interaction at the workplace is intertwined with individuals' sense of self.

In addition, perceived stigmatization by supervisor was negatively correlated with temporary workers' identification with their immediate work groups and workplace organizations as well as THS agencies. The quality of communication creates and maintains certain images of the workplace, including immediate work groups and workplace organizations. For temporary workers, supervisors are influential representatives of the workplace organization. Therefore, if the supervisors treat them without respect, or even stigmatize them, they may interpret such negative treatment as being exercised by the workplace entities, and hence, they would find it difficult to identify.

Neither supervisor nor coworkers' stigmatization of temporary workers was correlated with temporary workers' identification with their jobs. It can be interpreted

that being dehumanized or belittled due to their status does not influence temporary workers' pride in their skills and their attachment to the jobs. In other words, their identity with work itself cannot be harmed by stigmatization by workplace individuals.

The fact that perceived stigmatization by coworkers was negatively correlated with identification with the workplace organization, but not with other identification targets, suggests that the quality of supervisory communication is a strong determinant of how temporary workers negotiate their sense of belonging to their immediate work groups, but coworkers were not. This is especially important to note because identification with immediate work groups leads to whether or not the temporary workers engaged in beneficial behaviors beyond duty. Obviously, supervisors are more influential in decision making and other organizational activities than coworkers. If a supervisor, or a leader, holds a biased view against certain groups of people such as temporary workers, temporary workers would not be able to trust him or her. However, coworkers usually do not hold power as much as supervisors. From the finding that perceived stigmatization by permanent coworkers was significantly negatively correlated with their identification with the workplace organization, it is assumable that, for temporary workers who are not in a direct employment relationship with the workplace organization, those who are directly hired by the organization still represent the organization. Being stigmatized by permanent coworkers as well as by supervisors, thus, can build a psychological wall between the temporary workers and the workplace organization.

Interestingly, the respondents' identification with THS agencies had positive correlations with their perceived interactional justice with supervisor, by coworkers and

perceived stigmatization by supervisor. This may imply that those temporary workers who are having positive social experiences in the workplace may appreciate the fact that their agencies have good clients and dispatch them to the good clients. Conversely, those temporary workers who reported low perceived interactional justice and high stigmatization by supervisor may have been disappointed with their THS agencies. THS agencies could instruct their client supervisors to treat their temporary workers more positively. Those who perceived being stigmatized by workplace supervisors may have regarded their agencies as having neglected such efforts, and thus, lost faith in the agencies.

Beneficial and Harmful Behaviors

The fact that temporary workers reported they engaged in beneficial behaviors more frequently than they engaged in harmful behaviors in the workplace demonstrates they may have high work ethics. A previous study revealed that 33% to 75% of employees in all employment statuses have engaged in harmful behavior such as theft, computer fraud, embezzlement, vandalism, sabotage, and absenteeism (Harper, 1990, cited in Robinson & Benett, 1995). Many of the behaviors listed in Harper's study can be regarded as crime. When compared to Harper's report, the results of this study, which revealed only 18.3% of the temporary workers engaged in mildly harmful behaviors suggests that temporary workers are not routinely engaging in negative criminal behaviors. It is reasonable to think that any employee, including temporary workers, does not want to engage in behaviors harmful for the workplace and risk their employment. In addition, temporary workers may think such risks are higher for them due to their employment status.

Only 10 stories about their harmful behaviors were reported, and no respondents reported the harmful behaviors serious enough to be regarded as crime. However, there were two reports that the respondents did not work hard. They reported that they did not strive to do their best and even idled about during their contracts. One of them claimed that he took such an attitude because he was a temporary worker. These reports may demonstrate that being in a short-term contract may discourage temporary workers' commitment to their positions.

That being said, many respondents reported that they voluntarily worked beyond what were specified in the contracts and that they performed beyond workplace employees' expectations. In addition many respondents worked extra hours when they were requested to do so. The temporary workers' engagement in beneficial behaviors is discussed in more detail in the next section.

The Model of Temporary Workers' Perceived Interactional Justice, Stigmatization, Identification, and Workplace Behaviors

In the literature review, I introduced that social exchange theory and social identity theory may possibly explain temporary workers' experiences and behaviors. The results of this research may be explained better by social identity theory than by social exchange theory.

Social exchange theory presumes that employees' "perception of fairness would create felt obligations" (Moorman & Byrne, 2005, p. 366). Temporary workers may feel confident enough to interpret their perceived interactional justice as their workplace employees' readiness to participate in reciprocal relationships. In this case, temporary workers sometimes reported that they provided services beyond employment contracts.

However, this study did not find a direct connection between interactional justice and engagement in beneficial behaviors beyond duty. There may be some mediators between interactional justice and behaviors. Moorman and Byrne (2005) introduced three such mediators between perceived justice and organizational citizenship behaviors (organizational citizenship behaviors is the term used in the organizational behavioral discipline for employees' contribution to their workplace beyond duty): trust in the employers, perceived organizational support, and leader-member exchange (pp. 366-368). The fact that interactional justice was not significantly related to whether or not they engaged in beneficial behaviors may reveal the absence of these mediators. For example, temporary workers may not have enough trust that their workplace employees would return a favor if they selflessly contributed to the workplace. Regarding organizational support, temporary workers may have determined that their workplaces did not care about their well-being as much as they contributed to the workplaces. Leader-member exchange is characterized by the extent to which leaders "seek to offer followers influence and support beyond what is called for in the employment contract" (p. 367). Respondents in this study may not have felt that their contributions to their workplace organizations would be reciprocated.

In fact, only 1 respondent specified that his motivation to work beyond his duty was that he wanted to maintain a position with the workplace. If there is a possibility that the workplace organization may hire their temporary workers in the future, it will work as an incentive for them to engage in such beneficial behaviors. This phenomenon, engaging in beneficial behaviors beyond duty for their workplaces hoping for a return of benefit, in his case, was to maintain his position at work.

From the social exchange perspective, temporary workers try to perform beyond workplaces' expectations, and they hope the workplaces take their contributions into consideration when they decide whether or not they extend their contract, or whether or not they hire the temporary workers as their own employees. However, the results of this study suggest that temporary workers do not expect such reciprocal relationships to develop between their workplace and them.

From the social identity perspective, perceived justice leads to beneficial behaviors because the justice enhances temporary workers' positive feelings about the identification targets (e.g., immediate work groups and jobs). The identification with the targets encourages them to engage in beneficial behaviors because this will improve the identification targets' statuses and, thus, improves their self-image.

Social identification theory argues that employees engage in beneficial behaviors for certain social groups beyond duty when they feel they belong to the group. It is because the success of the group enhances their self-image because they feel they are a part of the group. Tyler and Blader (2000) compiled studies of organizational justice and employees' behavioral tendencies in accordance with social identity theory. According to Tyler and Blader (2000), employees' extra-role behaviors derive more from their "internal motivational forces," such as attitudes, than from "instrumental factors," such as social exchange (p. 65). The results of this research support their statement. Tyler and Blader (2000) further argue that, in order to enhance behaviors beneficial to the workplace, it is necessary to "develop and sustain a climate that promotes favorable attitudes and strong value" (p. 65). In the environment where employees can share good values and attitudes, which is characterized by interactional justice, they cultivate their

identification with their workplace, which enhances their willingness to better contribute to their workplace. Their identification with their jobs also enhances their engagement in beneficial behaviors. This dynamic seems to be working in temporary workers' workplace experiences.

The results of this study revealed that temporary workers' identification with their immediate work group lead to their engagement in beneficial behaviors beyond contract. Consistent with social identity theory, the present results suggest that identification with immediate work group may mediate the relationship between perceived justice, job, and stigmatization and beneficial behaviors. Identification with their workplace organization and their THS agency did not elicit the same result. A possible explanation is that temporary workers identify with their workplace employees rather than their workplace as entities. That is, they view themselves as part of the group of individuals. Temporary workers often have more interactions with individuals in their immediate work groups. They do not interact with workplace individuals who make decisions in higher levels in the workplace organizations, especially when the organization is relatively large and complicated. If temporary workers decide to engage in beneficial behaviors, they may hope that the individuals in the work groups would benefit from their behaviors because temporary workers identify with them, but they may not care as much about the distant people, for example, employees of higher standing in their workplace organizations with whom temporary workers may not interact. This is especially true regarding temporary workers' identification with THS agencies. THS agencies' benefit or success does not boost their self-image because they do not identify with the agencies.

Positive and Negative Experiences and Responses

It is important to hear the voices of temporary workers in order to enhance public understanding of their experiences. In the questionnaire, I asked the respondents to provide one positive experience and one negative experience at work as well as including how they reacted to their experiences. These questions were open-ended, and the answers to the questions provided thematic references to understanding temporary workers' everyday workplace realities.

Positive Experiences

Many of the positive experiences by temporary workers involved social or relational dimensions, such as receiving recognition or positive feedback about their contribution and feeling included. The reports on good socialization as their positive experiences reinforce the importance of interactional justice for the well-being of temporary workers. Both verbal and nonverbal communication was involved in shaping the respondents' positive socialization. Provision of feedback and recognition of contribution were directly conveyed to the respondents verbally. Experiences such as feeling included and enjoying a good atmosphere in the workplace were also reported. In addition, material rewards such as promotions, raises, and bonuses, can be interpreted as demonstrations of recognition.

In addition to the positive social experiences, many respondents reported job-related affairs as positive experiences, such as feeling accomplishment and being given challenging jobs. This can be related to the result that the temporary workers identified with their jobs. Although interactional justice by supervisor and coworkers were significantly correlated with the temporary workers' identification with jobs, there may

be other variables that are also influencing the identification. That could be concepts such as interests in the profession and aspiration for learning. THS agencies may be able to help cultivate such interests of temporary workers by providing proper training or opportunity to improve their skills. By doing so, they may be able to keep a pool of high quality temporary workers.

Negative Experiences

For negative experiences, although the reported experiences involved both social and practical aspects of their workplace incidents, the experiences that were strictly practical in nature were much fewer than those that involved social aspects. Out of the 71 total experiences reported and seven major themes found from the reports, five themes, 18 responses were categorized in the themes about practical issues. An important implication from the 18 responses is that the "flexible" employment is a double-edged sword for temporary workers. Temporary workers' major benefit of working in temporary employment system is flexibility. The benefit of flexibility is characterized by both literal flexible time scheduling and other implications, such as saving their time and efforts by letting their agents find jobs and negotiate their needs for them. Job seeking activities are often psychologically demanding, so having agents allows them to avoid these demands. Furthermore, for those who have other life engagement, having an agent for employment may help them develop a psychological boundary between their workplaces and themselves. However, flexibility in employers' term may conflict with that in temporary workers' terms. For example, 10 respondents in this study reported that their contracts were not respected. In particular, 2 of them stated that their contracts were terminated early, and 3 reported that they were fired without proper reason or procedures.

For temporary workers, it would not be practical to attempt to restore the employment when they were unreasonably laid off because such procedures involve time, energy, and sometimes they cannot gain help from their THS agencies. As a result, in many cases, temporary workers accept the termination of their contracts. Thus, workplace organizations benefit from flexible employment when temporary workers suffer from it.

Although the majority of the respondents reported they perceived positive interactional justice and lack of stigmatization in their workplaces, a considerably large proportion of responses about negative experiences involved stigmatization. In particular, viewing them as "know-nothing," just because they were temporary workers, seemed to persistently exist. Interestingly, some respondents reported that their skills, educational back grounds, and professional experiences were disregarded. Their frustration seemed to come from the fact that their resumes were not even read. There may be an organizational culture that maintains social hierarchy in some organizations.

In addition, the temporary workers did not appreciate it when other people were stigmatized based on stereotypes. Such stigmatization was directed toward individuals from certain ethnic backgrounds, appearances, and even sexual harassment cases were reported. People treating others without respect, including stigmatizing others, has a negative impact on those who witness such behaviors. It should also be noted that such, otherwise illegal, acts can be detrimental for the workplaces' and THS agencies' reputations because temporary workers can report the incidents to others. Encouraging respectful social manners may benefit everyone in the workplace.

Limitations

Although the research revealed insightful findings, it is not exempt from some limitations. In particular, sampling for the research was harder than initially planned. Despite the fact that I made every effort to invite THS agencies to the study, very few agencies showed interest. This resulted in low power. Accordingly, the number of respondents was not high enough to employ more sophisticated statistical computations, such as structural equation modeling, for the development of the model of temporary workers' perceived interactional justice, stigmatization, identification, and behaviors.

In addition, recruitment was not done in an ideal way. One of the two participating THS agencies had temporary workers with a variety of demographic characteristics, including age, educational level, and types of jobs, and 41 out of the 99 respondents were from this agency. However, the recruitment of the rest of the respondents involved university and college relations. The other THS agency that participated in the study was part of a university human resource department, and snowball sampling was done through my academic relationships. Consequently, the level of education and age were not normally distributed. Furthermore, 65 respondents lived in Utah at the time they responded to the questionnaire, which also may have reduced generalizability of the study.

Another limitation is that, due to the use of the survey method, the depth of qualitative information was restricted. For instance, though the questionnaire asked respondents to specify how they coped with their negative experiences, few of them indicated how they did. Interviewing would have provided richer and deeper information for qualitative inquiries about people's experiences.

The use of so many statistical tests enhances the probability that statistically significant results were found by chance. These results must be interpreted with caution.

Last, in this research, interactional justice was treated as a whole because both interpersonal justice (emotional aspect of interactions) and informational justice (instrumental aspect of interaction) empirically behaved in the same way. However, interactional justice is intricate. It may be worthwhile to distinguish its bits and pieces; instrumental aspect, such as adequacy of amount and quality of communication can influence the perceived quality of the emotional facet of communication. For example, efficient instrumental communication, or provision of information necessary to perform tasks, reflects interpersonal courtesy.

Future Research

The behavioral model of temporary workers developed in this study, which demonstrated identification with work groups and jobs lead to engagement in extra-role behaviors, will serve as a basis for better understanding the workplace realities of temporary workers and for exploring managerial practices to enhance contribution by temporary workers to their workplaces.

First, as discussed in the limitation section, more systematic recruiting of THS agencies can allow more sophisticated statistical examinations including structural equation modeling in order to test the model proposed here. Further, such analyses may reveal more complicated relationships between the variables. In addition, there may be mediators and moderators between the variables studied in this study. For instance, perceived interactional justice may be moderated by their understanding of supervisors and coworkers' characteristics, such as age, education, and personalities. My ultimate

goal for pursuing temporary workers' workplace realities is to contribute to the development of healthy workplaces for employees in various employment statuses. In order to do so, knowing details about what is happening between major concepts will improve clarity and persuasiveness when instructing workers.

Second, in order to advance the understanding of temporary workers' identification with their work-related entities, investigation of their meanings of temporary work may be helpful. Gossett (2007) revealed in her study that there are three types of temporary workers' understanding of their relationships to their THS agencies: free agents, clients, and employees, according to the levels of accepting and implementing their THS agencies' rules, policies, and information, from low to high (pp. 27-28). Her approach yielded meaningful interpretations of temporary workers' relationship with their THS agencies. Future research should extend this approach to pursue inquiries of temporary workers' understanding of their workplace realities. For example, identification with their immediate work group might be based on their understanding of themselves as employees of the work group, whereas identification with their workplace organization might be as clients.

Investigating identification by employees is beneficial because "a highly identified worker is a highly controlled worker," and highly identified workers will "voluntarily make decisions that benefit the system as a whole" (Gossett, 2000, p. 7). Application of an investigation based on these three types of identification with THS agencies to client workplaces may be best done with in-depth interviewing of temporary workers and of client employees on how they perceive their positions and roles of the temporary workers in the workplaces.

Third, the positive and negative experiences and the reactions to the experiences reported in this study can add insight to concepts involved in the process of their workplace behaviors. With a larger sample, these themes can be incorporated in the model of the temporary workers' behaviors in the workplace. Moreover, the positive and negative experiences reported by the temporary workers need to be further investigated empirically. The themes including the social and task dimensions found in this study can be further analyzed for their effects on temporary workers' satisfaction, and commitment to their work.

Fourth, other approaches to temporary workers' involvement in their workplace should be taken as well as investigating perceived qualities of their interactions. For example, studies of organizational networks may help understand the process of socialization of temporary workers. Social network ties, such as frequencies of interaction, direction of communication, and extent to which their communication is symmetrical, will be able to add insights in how they are socially involved in the workplace. In addition, investigating the characteristics of links in the workplace will give a cue to understanding the degrees of inclusion/isolation in the workplace, which may be linked to the process through which temporary workers develop their identifications. In these ways, we can view a larger picture of temporary workers' socialization in the workplace. In order to do so, research should involve workplace permanent employees as well as temporary workers.

Fifth, in addition to interactional justice, procedural and distributive justice may play important roles in temporary workers' work lives. The qualitative inquiry about temporary workers' positive and negative experiences revealed that pragmatic issues (e.g.,

whether or not the workplace supervisor abided by the work contract and whether or not their skills were utilized in the workplace) were as important as social interactional experiences for them. In addition, previous studies revealed that procedural justice and distributive justice had positive relationships with workers' organizational identification (Olkkonen & Lipponen, 2006). Such findings should not be ignored.

Conclusion

This research was conducted to understand workers' workplace realities regarding their perception of the quality of interaction in the workplaces. It revealed that the majority of the temporary workers perceived interactional justice by supervisor and coworkers, and the majority of them did not perceive stigmatization by supervisor and coworkers. Additionally, the temporary workers identified with their immediate work groups, jobs, and workplace organizations, but they reported negative identification with their THS agencies. The majority of the temporary workers engaged in behaviors beneficial for the workplace beyond their duty. On the other hand, few engaged in harmful behaviors.

As a result of the analyses, a model of the temporary workers' experiences and behaviors was developed. Both interactional justice by supervisor and by coworkers were significantly correlated with identification with THS agency, immediate work group, workplace organization and job. Conversely, stigmatization by supervisor was negatively correlated with identification with THS agency, immediate work group, and workplace organization. Stigmatization by coworkers was negatively correlated with identification with workplace organization. The model shows that the degree to which the temporary workers identified with their immediate work group was significantly related to whether

or not they engaged in beneficial behaviors and harmful behaviors. This model suggests that the temporary workers engage in beneficial behaviors because they associated their self-images with the success of their work groups, rather than expecting the reciprocation, from their work groups for their extra-role behaviors.

The qualitative analyses revealed a variety of positive and negative workplace experiences. In particular, while many of their positive experiences involved practical aspects, their reports of negative experiences suggested that their social experiences were central concerns for them. Such findings can be incorporated in the future inquiry about how workplace experiences can be improved for workers of all employment statuses to better contribute to the enhancement of their workplace well-beings.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

You are invited to participate in a research study of temporary workers' experiences.

The purpose of this study is to better understand and promote better workplace experiences for temporary workers. We are doing this study because temporary workers are often left out of studies of the workforce despite the fact they are very important part of the workforce today.

This survey will be totally anonymous and neither the researcher, your temporary agency, nor your workplace organization, will have access to your name, email address, or any other contact information. In addition, your temporary agency and your workplace organization will not receive any research results from which the identities of respondents can be identified.

If you have any questions please contact Fumiko Ie, Department of Communication, University of Utah (801-865-8644 or fumiko.ie@m.cc.utah.edu).

Contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participants. Also, contact the IRB if you have questions, complaints or concerns which you do not feel you can discuss with the investigator (801-581-3655 or by email at irb@hsc.utah.edu).

The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Participation in this study is voluntary. You can choose not to take part. You can choose not to finish the questionnaire or omit any question you prefer not to answer.

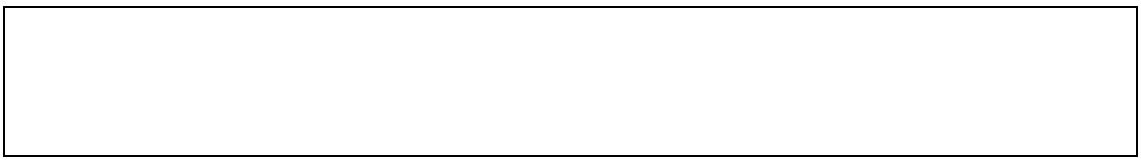
By answering this survey and sending it back to the researcher in the enclosed pre-stamped envelope, you are giving your consent to participate.

Thank you very much for your time and participation!

Section 1: Experience as a temporary worker

The following questions are about your experiences as a temporary worker. If you are not currently a temporary worker, please answer in relation to your last temporary employment.

1. How long have you been working as a temporary worker in your current workplace?
   _____ weeks, or _____ months
2. What is your job as a temporary worker? Please describe what you do at your workplace.



3. How many people do you work with?
   a. Regular workplace employees _____
   b. Temporary workers _____
   c. Others _____
4. How long have you worked as a temporary worker? Please include current and all previous work experiences.
   _____ months

Section 2: Identification

Everyone identifies with, or feels a sense of belonging to, or feels similar to, a variety of groups and roles. For example, roles and groups include nationality, religious affiliation, workplace organizations, hoppy groups, role as a parent, neighborhood community, your job itself, professional sport teams, your temporary help service agency, and so forth. Please indicate how strongly you identify with the work-related roles and groups specified. If you are not currently a temporary worker, please answer in relation to your last temporary employment.

How strongly do you identify with the following roles, groups, and activities? Please answer the questions by choosing and the response that <u>best</u> matches your agreement or disagreement.

1. Please think about your temporary help service agency.
   a. I feel that I belong to my temporary help agency.
      ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      ____ I agree with the statement.
      ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      ____ I disagree with the statement.
      ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   b. I have a lot in common with the staff at my temporary help agency.
      ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      ____ I agree with the statement.
      ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      ____ I disagree with the statement.
      ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   c. I feel little loyalty to my temporary help agency.
      ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.

_____ I agree strongly with the statement.
_____ I agree with the statement.
_____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
_____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

d. I identify with my temporary help agency.
_____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
_____ I agree strongly with the statement.
_____ I agree with the statement.
_____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
_____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

2. Now think about the group of people you work with.
   a. I feel that I belong to my current (or most recent) immediate work group.
   _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree with the statement.
   _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   b. I have a lot in common with the coworkers in my current (or most recent) immediate work group.
   _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree with the statement.
   _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   c. I feel little loyalty to my current (or most recent) immediate work group.
   _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I agree with the statement.
   _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree with the statement.
   _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   d. I identify with my current (or most recent) immediate work group.

_____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
_____ I agree strongly with the statement.
_____ I agree with the statement.
_____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree with the statement.
_____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
_____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

3. Now think about your job.
   a. I feel that I belong to my work or to the job itself.
      _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree with the statement.
      _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   b. I feel I have a lot in common with the work or with the job itself.
      _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree with the statement.
      _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   c. I feel little loyalty to my work or to the job itself.
      _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree with the statement.
      _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

   d. I identify with my work or with the job itself.
      _____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I agree with the statement.
      _____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree with the statement.
      _____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
      _____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

4. Now think about the company or organization where you work.

a. I feel that I belong to the company or organization in which I currently (or most recently) work(ed).
   ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree with the statement.
   ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

b. I have a lot in common with the coworkers in the company or organization in which I currently (or most recently) work(ed).
   ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree with the statement.
   ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

c. I feel little loyalty to the company or organization in which I currently (or most recently) work(ed).
   ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree with the statement.
   ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

d. I identify with the company or organization in which I currently (or most recently) work(ed).
   ____ I agree very strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I agree with the statement.
   ____ I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree with the statement.
   ____ I disagree strongly with the statement.
   ____ I disagree very strongly with the statement.

Section 3: Workplace Interactional Experiences

The following questions ask about your experience as a temporary worker in your current workplace or, if you are not currently working as a temporary worker, in the last workplace where you worked as a temporary worker.

1. Please answer the following questions in regard to your workplace supervisor by

choosing and the response that best matches your agreement or disagreement.

a. My supervisor treats me with respect
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
b. My supervisor provides me with information sufficient for my job.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
c. My supervisor treats me as if I am less capable than permanent workers.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
d. My supervisor treats me with dignity.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
e. My supervisor communicates with me in a timely manner.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
f. I feel stigmatized as a temporary worker by my supervisor.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
g. My supervisor treats me in a polite manner.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
h. My supervisor treats me as an "outsider."
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
i. My supervisor can suppress personal biases.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
j. My supervisor considers my view points.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
k. My supervisor abides by my temporary work contract.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

2. Please answer the following questions in regard to your coworkers who are permanent employees by choosing and the response that best matches your agreement or disagreement.

a. My permanent co-worker(s) treats me with respect.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
b. My permanent co-worker(s) provides me with information sufficient for my job.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree
c. My permanent co-worker(s) treats me as if I am less capable than permanent

workers.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

d. My permanent co-worker(s) treats me with dignity.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

e. My permanent co-worker(s) communicates with me in a timely manner.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

f. I feel stigmatized as a temporary worker by my permanent co-worker(s).
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

g. My permanent co-worker(s) treats me in a polite manner.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

h. My permanent co-worker(s) treats me as an "outsider."
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

i. My permanent co-worker(s) can suppress personal biases.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

j. My permanent co-worker(s) considers my view points.
( ) Strongly agree ( ) Agree ( ) Neutral ( ) Disagree ( ) Strongly disagree

Section 4: Workplace Experiences

Everyone has both positive and negative workplace experiences. Please think of your own experiences as a temporary worker.
If you are not currently a temporary worker, please answer in relation to your last temporary employment.

1. First, please tell one story describing a positive experience in your workplace. Make sure you include how you responded to the event.

2. How intense was this experience?

( ) Not intense at all ( ) A little intense ( ) Intense ( ) Significantly intense ( ) Very intense

3. How did this event impact your attitude toward your workplace?
   ____ Very positively affected
   ____ Positively affected
   ____ Somewhat positively affected

____ Neutral
____ Somewhat negatively affected
____ Negatively affected
____ Very negatively affected

4. Now tell one story describing a negative experience in your workplace. Make sure you include how you responded to the event.

5. How intense was this experience?
( ) Not intense at all ( ) A little intense ( ) Intense ( ) Significantly intense ( ) Very intense

6. How did this event impact your attitude toward your workplace?
____ Very positively affected
____ Positively affected
____ Somewhat positively affected
____ Neutral
____ Somewhat negatively affected
____ Negatively affected
____ Very negatively affected

Section 5: Positive and Negative Behaviors

Workers typically go beyond the contract in ways that both enhance and detract from workplace productivity. I would like to hear about your such experiences.
If you are not currently a temporary worker, please answer in relation to your last temporary employment.

1. How often have you engaged in a behavior that was beneficial to the workplace, beyond the requirements of your temporary work contract?

( ) Never ( ) Once ( ) Occasionally ( ) Sometimes ( ) Often

2. Please give one or more examples of what you did.

3. How often have you engaged in a behavior that was harmful to the workplace?

( ) Never ( ) Once ( ) Occasionally ( ) Sometimes ( ) Often

4. Please give one or more examples of what you did

Section 6: Demography

1. How old are you? ____ years
2. What is your gender? ____ Male ____ Female
3. Please select your race/ethnicity.
   ____ Caucasian ____ African ____Native American ____Hispanic
   ____ Asian ____ Other
4. Please select your highest completed education level.
   ____ Grade School ____ Junior High ____ High School ____ Vocational Training School
   ____ Associate's College Degree ____ Bachelor's College Degree ____ Graduate Degree
5. Where do you live?
   State _____
   County _____

6. 6. Please choose one of the four charity groups to which you would like me to donate one dollar as a token of my appreciation.

   _____ Make a Wish America

   _____ Big Brothers Big Sisters

   _____ American Cancer Society

   _____ The Humane Society of the United States

Thank you very much again for participate in my study.

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO TEMPORARY HELP SERVICE AGENCIES

May 2011

Company

To Whom It May Concern:

I am contacting you to invite your company to participate in my dissertation study of temporary workers' experiences. I am a graduate student in the Department of Communication at the University of Utah. A major issue facing companies who employ temporary workers is maintaining performance quality. We need to know more about how these workers' experiences affect their sense of loyalty, or identification. In order to fulfill this need, I am planning to survey temporary workers to systematically identify those experiences that help and hinder their loyalty to their workplaces.

My ultimate goals are to enhance our understanding of temporary workers' perceptions of the workplace in order to create more positive workplaces for both employers and temporary workers. The research will also contribute to your temporary help business. Workers usually appreciate having opportunities to express their opinions and experiences. If you wish, I could compare results from your employees with overall results so that you could see how you compare. For example, you could use the results as a reference when you discuss expectations for temporary workers with your new client organizations. I will make the results of the study available to you so that you may use them in ways most fitting to your needs.

For this research, temporary workers will respond to an internet survey that takes about 20 minutes. The survey asks them about the quality of interaction at their workplaces, their identifications, and their experiences in their workplaces. In order to accomplish this, I would like to include your temporary workers in this survey. In order to do so, I would appreciate your forwarding an email to them. The email invites them to participate and contains the link to the survey.

The survey will be totally anonymous and the respondents' identities, such as their email accounts, will not be available even to me, the researcher. I will keep your company name confidential. I would appreciate it very much if your company could participate in the study. Please feel free to contact me by phone (801-865-8644) or by e-mail (fumiko.ie@m.cc.utah.edu). I will follow up with a phone call within the next week to

discuss this with you.

Sincerely,

Fumiko Ie
Department of Communication, University of Utah

APPENDIX C

ELECTRONIC LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

Dear Temporary Worker:

You are invited to participate in a survey on temporary workers' workplace experiences. I am currently a graduate student at the University of Utah and am studying temporary workers.

Temporary workers are a very important part of the workforce today. However, they are often left out of studies of the workforce. We need to know more about temporary workers. I hope you will take about 20 minutes to provide your input in this important topic. My ultimate goal is to better understand and promote better workplace experiences for temporary workers. In addition, this is an excellent opportunity for you to assist in improving the work environment for temporary workers.

This survey will be totally anonymous and neither I, your temporary agency, nor your workplace organization, will have access to your name, email address, or any other contact information. In addition, your temporary agency and your workplace organization will not receive any research results from which the identities of respondents can be identified.

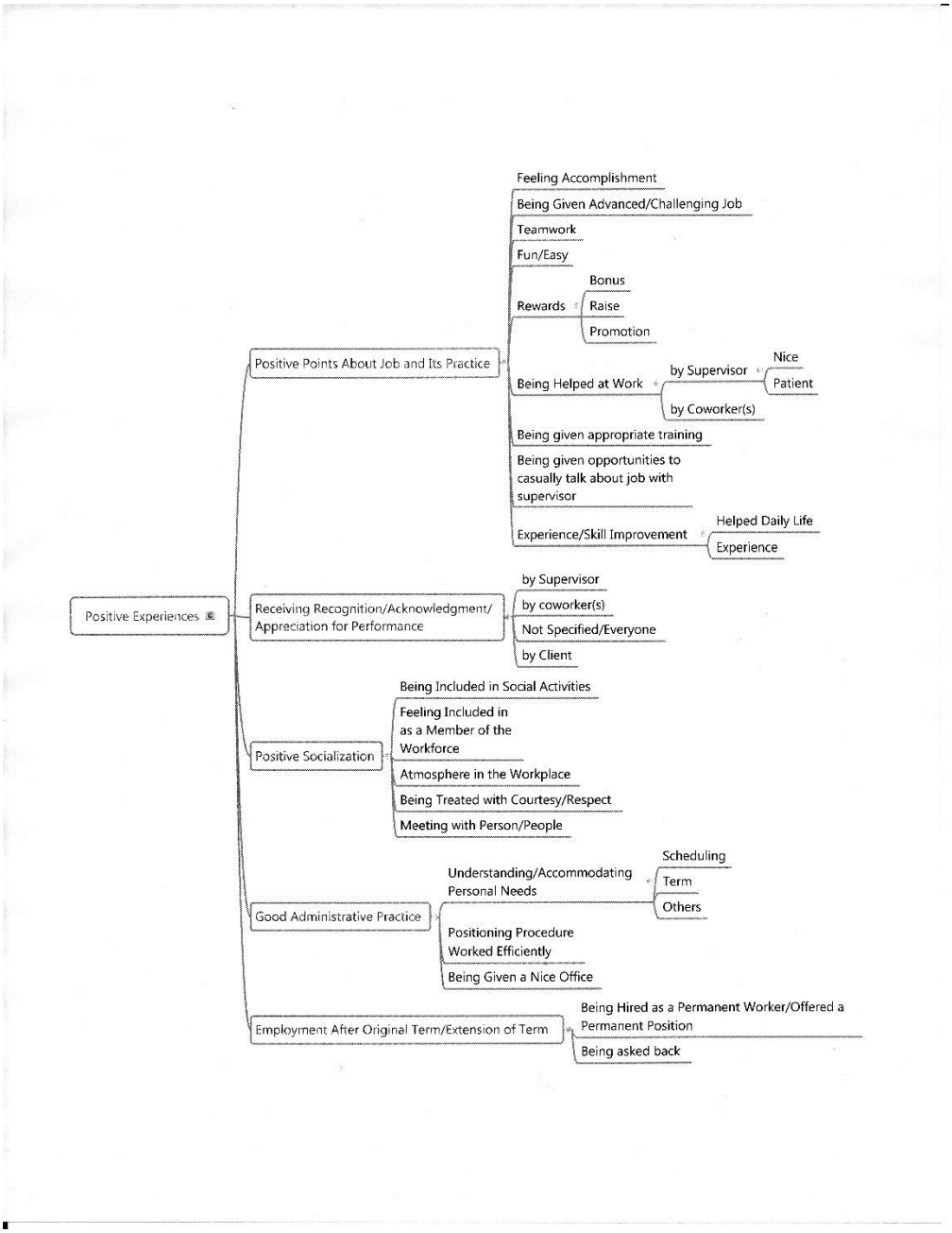
Please click _____ to link to the survey.

Thank you very much for your time and participation!!

Fumiko Ie
Department of Communication, University of Utah.

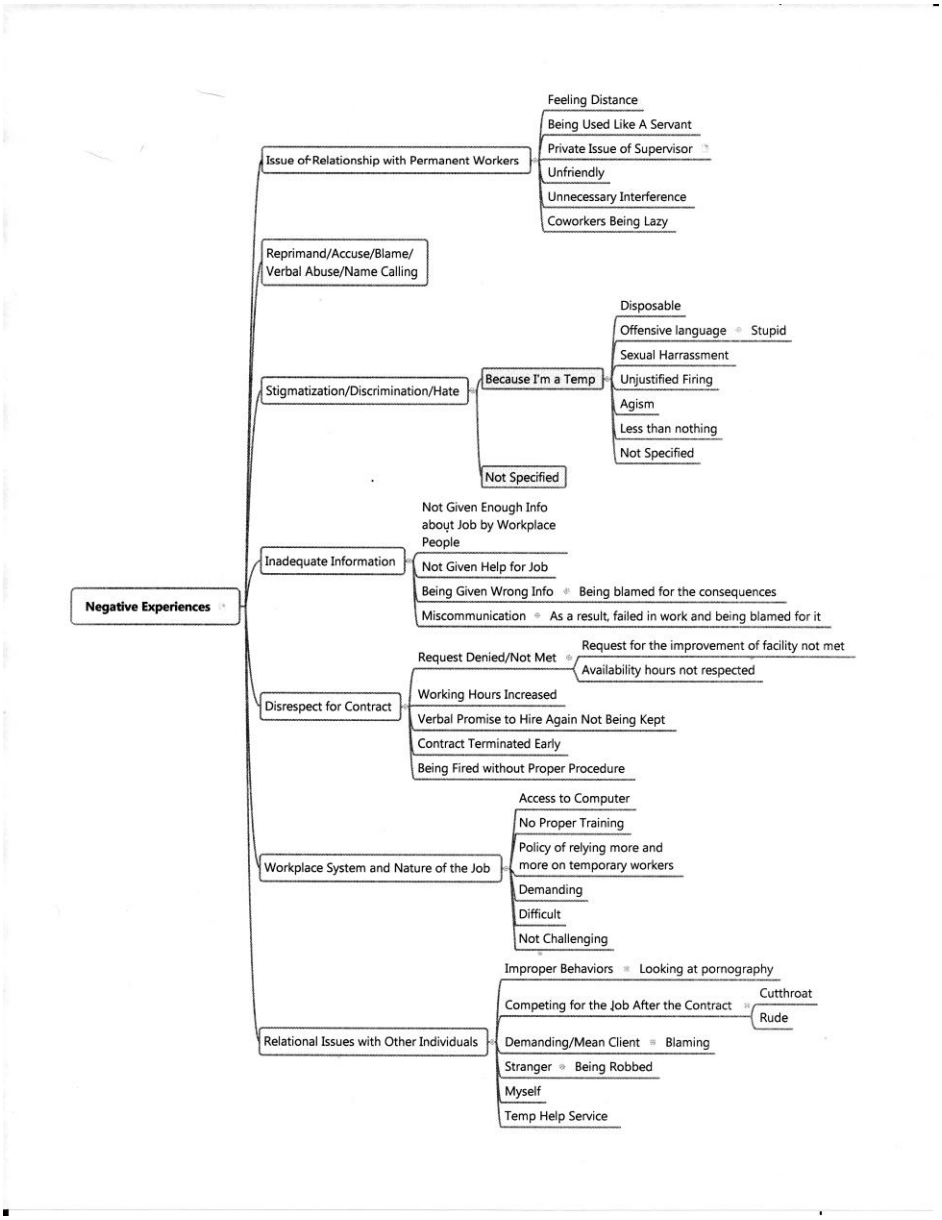
APPENDIX D

MAPPING OF THEMES: POSITIVE EXPERIENCES



APPENDIX E

MAPPING OF THEMES: NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES



REFERENCES

Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology,* (Vol. 2, pp. 267-299), NY: Academic Press.

Adler, L. A. (1999). Discourses of flexibility and the rise of the 'Temp industry, or, how I met the 'Kelly girl' commuting between public and private. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 1*(2), 210-236.

Allen, R. S., Sompayrac, J., & White, C. S. (2002). How closely are temporary workers screened? Results of a national survey of temporary agencies. *SAM Advanced Management Journal, 67*(2), 31-36.

Ambrose, M. L., Seabright, M. A., & Schminke, M. (2002). Sabotage in the workplace: The role of organizational injustice. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89,* 947-965.

Aquino, K., Tripp, T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2001). How employees respond to personal offense: The effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(1), 52-59.

ASA Online. (2008). http://www.americanstaffing.net/.

ASA Online. (2014). http://www.americanstaffing.net/.

Barker, J., & Tompkins, P. K. (1994). Identifidation in the self-managing organization: Characteristic of target and tenure. *Human Communication Research, 21*(2), 223-240.

Bies, R. J., & Shapiro, D. L. (1988). Voice and justification: Their influence on procedural fairness judgments. *Academy of Management Journal, 31,* 676-685.

Biggs, D., & Swailes, S. (2006). Relations, commitment and satisfaction in agency workers and permanent workers. *Employee Relations, 28*(2), 130-143.

Birks, M., & Mills, J. (2011). *Grounded theory: A practical guide.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Blau, P. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life.* NY: Wiley.

Boyce, A. S., Ryan, A. M., Imus, A. L., & Morgeson, F. P. (2007). "Temporary worker, permanent loser?" A model of stigmatization of temporary workers. *Journal of Management, 33*(1), 5-29.

Bullis, C., & Bach, B. W. (1989). Are mentor relationships helping organizations? An exploration of developing mentee-mentor-organizational identifications using turning point analysis. *Communication Quarterly, 37*(3), 199-213.

Bullis, C., & Bach, B. W. (1991). An explication and test of communication network content and multiplexity as predictors of organizational identification. *Western Journal of Speech Communication, 55,* 180-197.

Burton, J. P., Sablynski, C. J., & Sekiguchi, (2008). Linking justice, performane, and citizenship via leader-member exchange. *Journal of Business Psychology, 23,* 51-61.

Castro, J., & Dickerson, J. F. (1993). Disposable workers. *Time, 141(13),* 5-7.

Cheney, G. (1983a). The rhetoric of identification and the study of organizational communication. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69,* 143-158.

Cheney, G. (1983b). On the various and changing meanings of organizational membership: A field study of organizational identification. *Communication Monographs, 50,* 343-362.

Cheney, G., & Tompkins, P. K. (1987). Coming to terms with organizational identification and commitment. *Central States Speech Journal, 38*(1), 1-15.

Cohen, J. (1977). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences.* NY: Academic Press.

Cole-Gomolski, B. (1998). U.S. challenges temp status. *Computerworld, 32*(44), 1-2.

Colquitt, J. A. (2001). On the dimensionality of organizational justice: A construct validation of a measure. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86,* 386-400.

Colquitt, J. A., Greenberg, J., & Zapata-Phelan, C. P. (2005). What is organizational justice? A historical overview. In, J. Greenberg & J. A. Colquitt (Eds.), *Handbook or organizational justice,* pp, 3-56, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Colquitt, J. A., & Saw, J. C. (2005). How should organizational justice be measured? In, J. Greenberg & J. A. Colquitt (Eds.), *Handbook or organizational justice,* pp, 113-152, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Condit, C. M. Hegemony in a mass-mediated society: Concordance about reproductive technologies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 11*(3), 205-230. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Conley, H. M. (2003). Temporary work in the public survices: implications for equal opportunities. *Gender, Work and Organization, 10*(4), 455-477.

Connelly, C. E., & Gallagher, D. G. (2004). Emerging trends in contingent work research. *Journal of Management, 30*(6), 959-983.

Cropanzano, R., Bowen, D. E., & Gilliland, S. W. (2007). The management of organizational justice. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 21*(4), 34-48.

Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (2003). *Media society: Industries, images, and audiences.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Davis-Blake, A., Broschak, J. P., & George, E. (2003). Happy together? How using nonstandard workers affects exit, voice, and loyalty among standard employees. *Academy of Management Journal, 46,* 475-485.

De Cuyper, N., & De Witte, H. (2006). Autonomy and workload among temporary workers: Their effects on job satisfaction, organizational commitment, life satisfaction, and self-rated performance. *International Journal of Stress Management, 13*(4), 441-459.

De Lara, P. Z. M. (2006). Fear in organizations: Does intimidation by formal punishment mediate the relationship between interactional justice and workplace internet deviance? *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 21*(6), 580-592.

Druker, J., & Stanworth, C. (2004). Mutual expectations: A study of the three-way relationship between employment agencies, their client organizations and white-collar agency 'temps.' *Industrial Relations Journal, 35*(1), 58-75.

Feldman, D. C., Doerpinghaus, H. I., & Turnley, W. H. (1994). Managing temorary workers: A permanent HRM challenge. *Organizational Dynamics, 23*(2), 49-63.

Forde, C. (2008). Temporary arrangements: The activities of employment agencies in the UK. *Work, Employment & Society, 15*(3), 633-644.

Forret, m., & Love, M. S. (2008). Employee justice perceptions and coworker relationships. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 29*(3), 248-260.

Gallagher, D, G, & Sverke, M. (2005). Contingent employment contracts: Are existing employment theories still relevant? *Economic And Industrial Demography, 26*(2), 181-203.

Galup, S., Saunders, C., Nelson, R. E., & Cerveny, R. (1997). The use of temporary staff and managers in a local government environment. *Communication Research, 24*(6), 698-730.

Gil, S. (1998). New rules cover growing temp workforce. *Wenatchee Business Journal, 12*(6), 10.

Glomb, T. M., & Liao, H (2003). Interpersonal aggression in work groups: Social influence, reciprocal, and individual effects. *Academy of Management Journal, 46*(4), 486-496.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goldstein, S. (2004). How permanent can a temp worker be? *Njbiz, 17*(10), 8-9.

Gonos, G. (1997). The contest over "employer' status in the postwar United States: The case of temporary help firms. *Law & Society Review, 31*(1), 81-110.

Gossett, L. M. (2001). The long-term impact of short-term workers: The work life concerns posed by the growth of the contingent workforce. *Management Communication Quarterly, 15*(1), 115-120.

Gossett, L. M. (2002). Kept at arm's length: Questioning the organizational desirability of member identification. *Communication Monographs, 69*(4), 385-404.

Gossett, L. M. (2006). Falling between cracks: control and communication challenges of a Temporary Workforce. *Management Communication Quarterly, 19*(3), 376-415.

Gossett, L. M. (2007). On members, clients, and passers by: Examining the organizational identification and communication implications of different temporary worker identities. Paper presented at the 2007 *National Communication Association Conference* in Chicago, IL.

Gossett, L., & Goldstein, R. (2007). *Transitioning from full- to part-time: Examining the control and identity implications of part-time employment.* Paper presented at the 2007 *International Communication Association Conference* in San Francisco, CA.

Gottfried, H. (1991). Mechanism of control in the temporary help service industry. *Sociological Forum, 6*(4), 699-714.

Gottfried, H. (2003). Temp(t)ing bodies: Shaping gender at work in Japan. *Sociology, 37*(2), 257-276.

Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American*

Sociological Review, 25, 161-178.

Greenberg, J. (1990). Employee theft as a reaction to underpayment inequity: The hidden cost of paycuts. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 75,* 561-568.

Greenberg, J. (1993a). The social side of fairness: Interpersonal and informational classes of organizational justice. In R. Cropanzano (Ed.), *Justice in the workplace: Approaching fairness in human resource management* (pp. 79-103). Hillsdale, NJ: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.

Greenberg, J. (1993b). Stealing in the name of justice: Informational and interpersonal moderators of theft reactions to underpayment inequity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 54,* 81-103.

Greenberg, J., & Colquitt, J. A. (2005). *Handbook of organizational justice.* NJ: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.

Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of 'ideology': Teturn of the repressed in media studies. In, M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, & J. Woollacott. (Eds.), *Culture, society and the media* (pp. 56-90). New York, NY: Methuen & Co.

Harré, R., & Secord, P. F. (1972). *The explanation of social behaviour.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry. D. J. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(1), 121-140.

Homan, G. C., (1961). *Social behaviour: Its elementary forms.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ie, F. (2004). Identity and socialization of international students in America. Paper presented in 2005 at *International Communication Association* in New York, NY.

Ie, F. (2005). *Identity concerns of permanent and temporary employees in Japan.* Unpublished manuscript, Department of Communication, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Ie, F. (2007). *Temporary workers in Japan: How mass media create what they should be.* Unpublished manuscript, Department of Communication, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Ie, F. (2008). *A Model of stigmatization of temporary workers and their reactions.* Unpublished manuscript, Department of Communication, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Jacobs, R. A. (1994). The invisible workforce: How to align contract and temporary

workers with core organizational goals. *National Productivity Review, 1994,* 169-183.

Keenan, D. (2004). Legal update. *Law and Regulation, 113*(1327), 114.

Kenkyusha's English-Japanese dictionary for the general reader. (1988). Tokuichiro Matsuda (Ed.), Tokyo, Japan: Kenkyusha.

Keyton, J. (2006). *Communication research: Asking questions, finding answers*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Kline, R. B. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*, *second edition.* New York, NY: Guilford.

Kraimer, M. L., Wayne, S. J., Liden, R. C., & Sparrowe, R. T. (2005). The role of job security in understanding the relationship between employees' perceptions of temporary workers and employees' performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 90*(2), 389-398.

Krejucie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. *Educaional and Psychological Measurement, 30,* 607-610.

Leventhal, G. S. (1980). What should be done with equity theory? New approaches to the study of fairness in social relationships. In K. Gergen, M. Greenberg, & R. Willis (Eds.), *Social exchange: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 27-55). NY: Plenum Press.

Liden, R. C., Wayne, S. J., Kraimer, M. L., & Sparrowe, R. T. (2003). The dual commitments of contingent workers: An examination of contingents' commitment to the agency and the organization. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 24,* 609-625.

Maliszewski, P. (1996). A temp for a time. *Business Journal Serving southern Tier, CNY, Mohawk Valley, Finger Lakes, North, 10*(22), 1-2.

Manias, E., Aitken, R., Peerson, A., Parker, J., & Wong, K. (2003). Agency nursing work in acute care settings: Perceptions of hospital nursing managers and agency nurse providers. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 12,* 457-466.

Masterson, S. S., Lewis, K., Goldman, B. M., & Taylor, M. S. (2000). Integrating justice and social exchange: The differing effects of fair procedures and treatment on work relationships. *Academy of Management Journal, 43*(4), 738-748.

McClurg, L. N. (1999). Organizational commitment in the temporary-help service industry. *Journal of Applied Management Studies, 8*(1), 5-26.

McDonal, D. J., & Makin, P. J. The psychological contract, organizational commitment and job satisfaction of temporary staff. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 21*(2), 84-91.

McLean Parks, J., Kidder, D. L, & Gallagher, D. G. (1998). Fitting square pegs into round holes: Mapping the domain of contingent work arrangements onto the psychological contract. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 19,* 697-730.

Meyer, J. P., Stanley, D. J., Herscovitch, L., & Topolnytsky, L. (2002). Affective, continuance, and normative commitment to the organization: A meta-analysis of antecedents, correlations, and consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 61*, 20-52.

Miller, K. I. (2000). Common ground from the post-positivist perspective: From "straw person" argument to collaborative coexistence. In, S. R. Corman & M. S. Poole (Eds.), *Perspectives on organizational communication: Finding common ground* (pp. 45-67). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Miura, K. (2005). *よくわかる人材派遣業界 [Understanding temporary help service industry]*. Tokyo: Nippon Jitsugyou Sha.

Moberly, R. B. (1987). Temporary, part-time, and other atypical employment relationships in the United states. *Labor Law Journal, 38*(11), 689-696.

Moorman, R. H. (1991). Relationship between organizational justice and organizational citizenship behaviors. Do fairness perceptions influence employee citizenship? *Journal of Applied Psychology, 76,* 845-855.

Moorman, R. H. (1993). Justice as a mediator of the relationship between methods of monitoring and organizational citizenship behavior. *Academy of Management Journal, 36*(3), 527-556.

Moorman, R. H., & Byrne, Z. S. (2005). How does organizational justice affect organizational citizenship behavior? In, J. Greenberg and J. A. Colquitt (Eds.), *Handbook or organizational justice*, (pp.355-380). Mahwa, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

NIH Office of Extramural Research. *Protecting human research participants.* Retrieved in 2011, http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/PHRP.pdf

Olkkonen, M., & Lipponen, J. (2006). Relationships between organizational justice, identification with organization and work unit, and group-related outcomes. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 100,* 202-215.

Organ, D. W. (1990). The motivational basis of organizational citizenship behaviors. In L. L. Cummings and B. M. Straw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (pp.

43-72). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Oxford Advanced Leader's Dictionary. (2005). Compiled in Seiko Instruments IC Dictionary.

Pearce, J. L. (1993). Toward an organizational behavior of contract labors: Their psychological involvement and effects on employee coworkers. *Academy of Management Journal, 36,* 1082-1096.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2007). Flexible recession: The temporary staffing industry and mediated work in the United States. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 31,* 171-192.

Posthuma, R. A., Campion, M. A., & Vargas, A. L. (2005). Predicting counterproductive performance among temporary workers: A note. *Industrial Relations, 44*(3), 550-554.

Putnam, L. L. (1983). The interpretive perspective: An alternative to functionalism. In, L. L. Putnam & M. E. Pacanowsky (Eds.), *Communication and organizations: An interpretive approach.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1995). A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multidimensional scaling study. *Academy of Management Journal, 38(2),* 555-572.

Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1997). Workplace deviance: Its definition, its manifestations, and its causes. *Research on Negotiation in Organizations 6,* 3-27.

Rogers, J. K. (1995). Just a temp. *Work and Occupations, 22*(2), 137-166.

Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 2,* 121-139.

Rubin, R. B., Palmgreen, P., & Sypher, H. E. (2004). Communication research measures: A sourcebook. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Scott, C. R., Connaughton, S., Diaz-Saenz, H. R., Maguire, K., Ramirez, R., Richardson, B., Pride Shaw, S., & Morgan, D. (1999). The impacts of communication and multiple identifications on intent to leave. *Management Communication Quarterly, 12*(3), 400-436.

Scott, C. R., Corman, S R., & Cheney, G. (1998). Development of a structurational model of identification in the organization. *Communication Theory, 8*(3), 288-336.

Sias, J. M., Kramer, M. W., & Jenkins, E. (1997). A comparison of the communication

behaviors of temporary employees and new hires. *Communication Research, 24*(6), 731-754.

Skarlicki, D. P, & Folger, R. (1997). Retaliation in the workplace: The roles of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 82,* 434-443.

Skarlicki, D. P., & Latham, G. P. (1997). Leadership training in organizational justice to increase citizenship behavior within a labor union: A replication. *Personnel Psycholpogy, 50,* 617-633.

Smith, V. (1998). The fractured world of the temporary worker: Power, participation, and fragmentation in the contemporary workplace. *Social Problems, 45*(4), 411-430.

Sparks, G. (1998). New rules cover growing temp workforce. *Wenatchee Business Journal, 12*(6), p. 10.

Staffing Today. (2014) Online newsletter by American Staffing Agencies. Staffingtoday.net/staffstats/release08-30-04.

Stouffer, S. A., Suchman, E. A., DeVinney, L. C., Star, S. A., & Williams, R. M., Jr. (1949). *The American soldier: Adjustment during army life, Volume I.* Clinton, MA: Colonial Press.

Torka, N. (2011). Agency workers and organisation's commitment to its workers. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 22*(7), 1570–1585.

Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2000). *Cooperation in groups: Procedural justice, social identity, and behavioral engagement.* Philadelphia PA: Psychology Press.

Tyler, T. R., & Blader, S. L. (2003). The group engagement model: Procedural justice, social identity, and cooperative behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 7,* 349-361.

Ura, T. & Miura, K. (2000). *人材派遣の働き方：自分を生かす会社を伸ばす [How to work as a temporary worker: Realize yourself, flourish your business].* Tokyo: Toyo Keizai.

Van Dyne, L., & Ang, S. (1998). Organizational citizenship behavior of contingent workers in Singapore. *Academy of Management Journal, 41*(6), 692-703.

Veitch, R. W. D., & Cooper-Thomas, H. D. (2009). Tit for tat? Predictors of temporary agency workers' communications. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources,* 47, 318-337.

Viscounty, P. J., & Taylor, M. D. (2002). Temporary workers and their output – Who owns the copyright? *Orangy County Business Journal, June 20,* 16.

Waxer, C. (2003). The match came. *Workforce Management, 56*(9), 49-51.

Weathers, C. (2004). Temporary workers, women and labour policy-making in Japan. *Japan Forum, 16*(3), 423-447.

Wheeler, A. R., & Buckley, M. R. (2001). Examining the motivation process of temporary employees: A holistic model and research framework. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 16*(5), 339-354.

Zou, X., Morris, M. W., & Benet-Martinbez, V. (2008). Identity motives and cultural priming: Cultural (dis)identification in assimilative and contrastive responses. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*(4), 1151-11 59.